Us and them syndrome: Social determinants of worker attitudes in Nigerian urban employment sectors

Jike, Victor Teddy

Award date:
1987

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

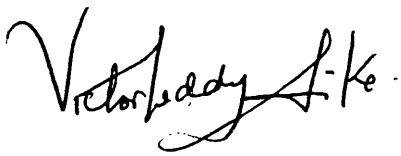
US AND THEM SYNDROME:SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF WORKER ATTITUDES IN NIGERIAN URBAN EMPLOYMENT SECTORS.

Submitted by Victor Teddy Jike, B.sc.,M.sc.

for the degree of Ph.D. of the

University of Bath

1987.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Dedicated to my son, Mena Teddy-Jike.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Space does not permit me to express individual thanks to all those who helped in shaping the ideas which ultimately constituted the perspective of this thesis. I am particularly grateful to my major supervisor,Dr.Frank Longstreth whose meticulous concern for 'details' undoubtedly enhanced the content of this thesis. I am also grateful to the other members of my supervisory team,Drs.M.Rose and G.Wood for finding time out of their busy schedule to read earlier drafts of this thesis. Also worthy of mention is my mother, Lady Jike for her unflinching moral support throughout the programme. Finally,I wish to thank Mrs.Yemi Jike and Mena Teddy-Jike for coping with the inconveniences of an absentee husband and father respectively.

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the socio-cultural factors which may account for different work attitudes in Nigerian public and private sectors. It argues that the divergence between the characteristic attitudes in each sector is a consequence of the difference in the extent to which prevailing organizational structures are responsive to the values which workers bring from the wider environment. While public organizational structures are rigid and unadaptive to the value configurations of workers, private organizational structures are relatively flexible and accommodative of the values of workers in this sector. This profound difference largely accounts for the contrast between work attitudes in each sector.

Non-commitment to public work has its genesis in the peculiar circumstances of the colonial establishment. The structural arrangement of colonialism, particularly the US and THEM syndrome,created a pre-condition for reduced worker commitment to colonial bureaucracy, a condition which has persisted and worsened twenty-six years after independence.

Nigerian workers, who are predominantly of rural origin, are influenced in the workplace by rustic values which conflict with implicit alien values in public organizational structures. This

value descrepancy, coupled with the indisposition of the government to adapt to the value contingencies of workers, are salient factors which account for the persistence of negative work attitudes in the public sector.By contrast, private organizations are especially adaptive to workers' orientations, thereby strengthening work group solidarity and creating a congenial milieu for positive work attitudes.

The hypotheses that public workers are more likely to possess negative work attitudes (based on the aforementioned value descrepancy), measured on a series of Likert-scale attitudinal items, were empirically upheld. These results suggest the need for a structural overhaul of the Nigerian bureaucracy whose features, although relevant to the 'colonial mission', are quite obsolete with respect to contemporary Nigerian requirements.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

A central and continuing problem that successive Nigerian governments have attempted to solve albeit unsuccessfully is the negative attitudes of the citizenry to public work, infrastuctures, etc. Negative attitudes could be expressed in a wide variety of behavioural possibilities including but not restricted to non-commitment to the job, lack of identification with the job, dissatisfaction with the job, embezzlement of public funds, arson (usually to cover-up corruption and fraud in public offices) and undue blame of the organizational structure for any shortcoming that may have arisen out of personal inadequacy.

Although negative attitudes may mean any of the aforementioned possibilities, this thesis aims to examine negative attitudes with respect to work. Specifically, I am interested in the difference that may exist in work attitudes among Nigerian private and public workers. Therefore, a considerable portion of the first section of this thesis will be devoted to establishing the theoretical rationale for why an overwhelming majority of Nigerian public workers are believed to be negatively disposed to their work whereas, their counterparts in the private sector are generally considered to be better attuned to organizational goals and positively disposed to their work.

Generally, negative attitudes to public organizations have their roots in the peculiar circumstances of the colonial establishment. The cultural difference between imperial Britain and pre-colonial Nigeria inevitably found expression in the organizational structure introduced by the colonialists and thus, created a profound and lingering adaptation problem for the indigenous peoples. Wells and Warmington(1962), for example, noted that the difficulties of adaptation on the part of labour do create obstacles to the progress of industrialization in African communities. The alien characteristics of colonial organizations invoked a negative response in indegenous peoples and attempts were made to undermine the system. In this regard,some indigenous people attempted to infiltrate the alien organization in order to plunder it for the benefit of the communities to which they had their foremost loyalties. This general perception of government establishments as alien,and therefore, targets to be plundered for personal,and sometimes communal interests has persisted twenty-six years after independence.Recognizing this mental carry-over from the colonial era,Prof G.Nwankwo, writing in the Nigerian Guardian of August 11,1986 emphasized that" For effective restructuring of the Nigerian economy,there must be a re-orientation of the Nigerian individual and the larger society through a high degree of social mobilization and the obliteration of US AND THEM SYNDROME."

The persistence of US AND THEM syndrome has been the bane of Nigerian public organizations. This syndrome partly explains why,for example, Nigerian students in nation-wide demonstrations,

that have now become perennial,single out government property for destruction amid jubilation that "WE have got THEM". To these students,"THEM" represents indigenous bureaucrats and policy makers who are presently at the helm of affairs. These indigenous' elites', as they are sometimes called,have embraced an ostentatious lifestyle (generally epitomized by exorbitant exotic cars,mansions,expensive clothing items etc.) that is glaringly descrepant from the mass squalor in the wider society and this had made them rather unpopular with the citizenry. They are generally perceived to represent their selfish interests rather than the yearnings of those they feign to represent. Because of lack of trust and confidence in these elites,any opportunity is readily utilized by the people to vent anger against these functionaries and the organizations they represent. Such anger may take one of several forms e.g. negative attitudes to public work, vandalism of public property(especially during students riots), arson (which is typified by the inferno that engulfed the Nigerian Telecommunications House recently), refusal to repay loans obtained from government banks, etc. People are obsessively concerned about what they can obtain from government without equally bothering about their duties to the state. There is much concern among people to slice a chunk of the 'national cake'. Consistent with this line of argument the Nobel laureate, Soyinka (1984), has noted that "the attainment of independence had been nothing but a dance macabre to get a slice of the national cake (see West Africa Magazine August 27,1984)."

The US and THEM syndrome also explains the non-commitment or

negative disposition of workers to their jobs. These workers feel they do not belong. Since their level of involvement in organizational decision- making is at the barest minimum,their level of commitment to the job is understandably low. This overwhelming negative attitudes towards public jobs, infrastructures,etc., contrast sharply with the willingness with which these people discharge the obligations which are owed to organizations at the village level (see Ekeh,1975). I shall now briefly examine some post-colonial regimes in order to assess the policies they initiated to tackle this seemingly elusive problem of negative attitudes to public organizations.

If, as generally claimed, the patriotic desire to cleanse the society of public corruption ,was the core reason for the first military intervention in Nigerian politics (1966), then the military could be adjudged to have woefully failed in its avowed mission,because it is now a platitude that the first military regime and,to some extent,subsequent military administrations merely exacerbated the problems they intended to ameliorate. The tenure of Yakubu Gowon as head of state(1966-1976), for example,witnessed an unprecedented spate of corruption and other indices of negative attitudes e.g., non-commitment to public jobs. The Nigerian civil war years (1967-1970) and the attendant euphoria of the oil boom epoch distracted attention from the havoc(in terms of corruption, derelection of duty, non-commitment to jobs, etc.) being wreaked on public organizations. Highlighting the ills that bedevilled Gowon's administration, Prof. Ola, in the Nigerian Sunday Times of April

11,1976 emphasized that:

> Whatever ambivalent thing we may say about progress in the age of Gowon,It was certain that his was an era of moral decline and decadence.Indeed,the gauge of morality in the public sphere was almost reduced to zero. Corruption unequalled and unprecedented had a sickening hold on the Nigerian society. Public officials of all categories, governors, commisioners, permanent secretaries, administrators, corporation managers and police superintendents, the Nigerian mandarins sold their offices and power in exchange for money.

The massive looting of the public treasury during the era of Gowon was only paralleled by the 'contagious'negative attitudes to public jobs. The adverse effect of negative attitudes on overall productivity in public organizations prompted Major General Murtala Mohammed, the man who ousted Major General Gowon,to take a more determined and radical approach in a bid to solve this problem.

During the brief but eventful tenure of Major General Murtala Mohammed as head of state(1976), he personally initiated a reform programme in the country's public service by firing, en masse,those people considered inefficient, unproductive, uncommited to their jobs, etc. As good intentioned as Murtala's reform programme seemed, there was a serious flaw of how to obtain a uniform yardstick of

efficiency (or lack of it)and how to apply such a yardstick across the board,irrespective of the culprit's social status. Top government officials soon converted Murtala's reform package into a weapon of personal vendetta by submitting names of hardworking and dedicated public officers against whom they had personal grievances. For example, the dismissed and later reinstated, socialist-inclined lecturers of the university of Ibadan in 1976 were an indication of the number of innocent and hardworking public officials who may have been flushed out of the public service on trumped-up charges.

Continuing from where Major General Murtala Mohammed left off, Major General Olusegun Obasanjo attempted to rid the public service of corrupt and inefficient officials. Like his predecessor,the serious flaw in his reform programme was the ambivalence surrounding the determination of efficiency or lack of it. The determination of efficiency was left to the predilections of a few top officials who could,and in fact did, manipulate the reform package to suit their selfish personal aggrandizement. Credit ,nonetheless, should be given to Major Generals Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasasnjo for diagnosing the ubiquity of negative attitudes to public work. However, although they diagnosed the problem, these leaders advanced policies which were mainly directed at the symptoms rather than the cause(s) of the problem. These leaders assumed, very erroneously, that by dismissing a few overtly inefficient or corrupt officials, the broad mass of public workers would adopt a much more positive attachment or commitment to their jobs.In the

Jaji declaration of 1977, for example, Major General Olusegun Obasanjo noted that "we started with retrenchment from the public sector with the hope that new lessons will be learnt and new attitudes cultivated".

Although president Shehu Shagari, the civilian president of the second republic, and his retinue of flamboyant and extravagant ministers were found by military tribunals to have brought the nation to its lowest ebb of depravity, the president at repeated intervals emphasized the need to rid the country's public service of the prevailing lackadaisical attitudes and corruption (see Univerisity of Jos,'Nigeria Convocation Address,'1981).

Major General Mohammed Buhari, who ousted President Shehu Shagari in a military coup d'etat on December 31,1983, was equally cognizant of the pervasive negative attitudes to public work. In a bid to solve this problem, Major General Mohammed Buhari launched a social campaign named War Against Indiscipline (WAI). This was a somewhat aggressive re-socialization programme intended to instil positive attitudes in public workers. Similarly, the present Nigerian President, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, who ousted Major General Mohammed Buhari in a a coup d'etat in 1985, recently described the country's public service as a 'let down'. The president maintained that the public service had witnessed the influx of some individuals who are incapable and undisciplined. President Babangida further regretted that "many civil servants had encouraged corruption,fraud and abuse of office while many also served as

prime motivators of government patronage (see The Punch,July 15,1986)."Highlighting the detrimental consequences of the THEY and WE syndrome to the public service,president Babaginda in a speech at the opening of a seminar on 'The National Question in Nigeria'stated that" people have been made to believe that it is only when someone from their ethnic group holds an elective office that their lot can improve,irrespective of the personal qualities of the individual. Continuing,the president noted that it is unfortunate that individuals in government have acted and exercised power in a manner to lend credence to this belief (see The Punch,July 15,1986)."

Thus, it is a platitude that the Nigerian public service is inundated with corrupt practices and workers have little commitment to the job. It is a place where officials wantonly enrich themselves with public money without fear of being caught. The present Nigerian minister for mines and power (September 1986), Prof.David-West, writing in the Daily Times of July 26,1986 noted that:

> Public office is often seen not as an opportunity for service but largely as an opportunity to build material empires at home and abroad,especially abroad. What is particularly frightening and destructive is the fact that quite a few would even go ahead and argue a so-called rational premise for this unprogressive ethic along the lines that you are

a fool not to prepare for the rainy day.

Continuing his criticism of the public service and particularly authenticating my previous claim of pervasive corruption in the public service,the minister noted that:

> Nigeria is the only place where a top public officer after raping the public treasury to administer to his personal fancies and fantasies,will unabashfully tell the whole world that instead of the normal crime and punishment, he should be congratulated with national honours, decorated with accolade and showered with confetti.

Although there are many indicators of negative attitudes in the public service (e.g., corruption ,fraud,non-commitment to the job,dissatisfaction with the job, etc.), this thesis especially intends to explain the pervasiveness and persistence of such attitudes at all levels and in distinct occupational groups in public employment.

On the basis of the foregoing, I shall examine, in particular, socio-cultural/religious factors which presumably influence negative or positive work attitudes. Prominence is here attached to socio-cultural/religious factors because, the values which, I argue, determine attitudes in urban employment are derived from core socio-cultural institutions (for non-Muslim Nigerians) and socio-cultural/religious institutions (for Muslim Nigerians). The values

which are derived from socio-cultural institutions such as the age-grade organizations, the extended family and kinship networks and those that are derived from religious institutions such as Koranic schools and Brotherhoods tend to coalesce around the common theme of support for less advantaged persons and co-operation both at work and in the home. Thus, while in the urban area, these indigenous or religious values (as the case may be) tend to have a continuing influence on the work attitudes of the Nigerian worker. It should be noted that Yoruba urbanism(see Bascom,1965;) does not necessarily imply that indigenous values have been supplanted by modern ones. Yoruba urbanism merely means that the sheer numerical strength of some Yoruba towns is enough for these towns to be categorized as urban areas. Indigenous practices such as the need to fulfil kinship obligations and attendance/exchange of gifts during festivals (e.g.,the Oke Ado festival at Ibadan) are still very much the the general trends.As Osborne (1973) has rightly reported, many Yorba families still maintain rural and urban homes. They may spend a week on the farm and a weekend in the town or vice versa, to the extent that it becomes difficult for census takers or urban sociologists to classify them as either rural or urban. Peil(1981:11) has also that indigenous urbani sm was structured by customary forms of authority and allowed a high proportion of the population to farm for at least part of the year."

Similarly, the Hausa peoples in cities such as Kano have relied overwhelmingly on a combination of religious/indigenous values for their day to day existence (see Hill,1972;Lubeck,1981). The sheer

size of Kano city and its teeming population might conform to a universally agreed yardstick for measuring urbanism. But Kano is still a city where indigenous and religious values are tenaciously upheld and are overwhelmingly believed to influence the pattern of life. The similarity between rural and urban values is, perhaps, one reason why Peil (1981:11), for example,indicated that " the pace of change in towns is slowed by the interdependence of town and countryside and the frequent interaction between the urban residents and their country kin. Few people are committed to one or the other,so the urbanization of the countryside proceeds with the ruralization of the town. Dual occupations and dual residence are important factors in this. The roads into many towns are busy every morning with rural people coming for a day's business,and large numbers of migrants visit home on weekends and on national holidays." Hill (1977) has also indicated that there is mutual dependence between the city of Kano and the adjoining villages.Some people commute to work (in the city) from these villages. It is against this background that I refer to the Nigerian worker as being predominantly rural in origin. Values derived from core religious/cultural institutions which are generally anchored in the rural areas tend to have enduring influences on their attitudes to urban 'modern sector' employment. These cultural/religious institutions empasize a conception of work that is markedly different from the objective conditions of urban employment. The worker, thus, experiences a value conflict which largely explains the persistent negative attitudes that is generally believed to be held towards public work.Private organizations ,on

the other hand, enjoy a preponderance of postive work attitudes because they (unlike public organizations)tend to accommodate some of the values the worker brings from the wider environment.

It is pertinent to recapitulate some of the important points made in chapter 1 before bringing it to a close. Chapter 1 examined the research problem.The range of behavioural dispositions which could be categorized as negative attitudes was highlighted.Mention was also made of the determined but futile efforts of successive Nigerian governments to tackle the problem of pervasive negative attitudes to public work.It was also noted that government efforts to stimulate positive work attitudes ended in fiasco largely because policies were aimed at symptoms rather than the cause(s) of negative attitudes to public work. The argument was further advanced that for worthwhile results to be achieved in this direction,policies should be aimed at rectifying the sharp descrepancy that presently exists between workers orientations and the objective conditions of urban employment. This suggestion is necessary and expedient because attitudes are largely determined by the interaction of workers' orientations and the objective conditions of the workplace.

Chapter 2 examines workers' orientations as determinant of work attitudes.Drawing on a mosaic of attitudinal literature, I will attempt to clarify the place of value in the concept of attitude. I will also operationally define attitude to work, which is the

dependent variable for this study, together with the explanatory variables, which include:familial/personal needs, powerlessness, boredom, individual vs system blame and job satisfaction. Following from this premise, I will suggest that workers'orientations should be understood in attempting to shape work attitudes. Although a value-conflict model has been adopted to explain work attitudes in this study, other paradigms exist for studing work attitudes or behaviour(e.g.,Marx's paradigm see Peace, 1979;see Cohen,1980). Chapter 3 is ,therefore, an appraisal of some these alternative versions of organizational studies .Some weaknesses of some of these alternative versions are also highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 4 examines the value conflict model that is adopted for this study. The point is made that although there are linguistic differences between the varying ethnic groups in Nigeria, the core values which can be extrapolated from significant cultural/religious institutions across these varying ethnic groups, tend to coalesce around the common emphasis on co-operation and the need to support one another (see Obayemi,1976;Isichei,1983). Some aspects of the political institutions of the three main ethnic groups (Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa) are discussed in order to identify significant cultural/religious institutions across these varying ethnic groups.The values that are common to these institutions are also highlighted. The examination of these cultural/religious institutions is pertinent because the values emanating from these institutions arguably have an enduring influence on work attitudes in the objective conditions of urban employment. These values are

the referents by which these workers assess the job,and accordingly shape their work attitudes. This chapter also discusses how urban migrants retain rural links. Finally, the status of women in both traditional and contemporary times is highlighted.

While Nigerian and Africanist scholars have frequently adopted Marx's paradigm in categorizing Nigerian classes (see Onimode,1981,1982;Williams,1978;Peace,1979), chapter 5 argues that it is inappropriate to categorize Nigerian classes in Marx's terms. Some factors which have continually hampered the development of Nigerian classes along the lines proposed by Marx include:(a) the social differentiations within the Nigerian working class and (b) the adverse effect of ethnicity on the crystallization of working class consciousness. The rest of the chapter is devoted to other factors (e.g.decrees) which also impede the growth of Nigerian trade unionism.

Chapter 6 reviews psychological and management theories of work motivation and highlights the structural restrictiveness of these theories(e.g.,theories of bureaucracy,administrative management theory,etc.) because of their failure to accommodate the values that workers bring from the larger environment. In the same light,psychological 'need theories'(particularly Maslow's) are reductionist and analytically(also sociologically) inadequate because they attempt to squeeze the gamut of human needs into an artificially-derived five-rung hierarchy. Typically,the needs of a Nigerian worker transcend his (strictly) personal needs to the more

generalized needs of members of his extended family. It is only with respect to this somewhat amorphous family network that the needs of the individual has meaning.

Chapter 7 examines the concept of attitude and looks at the place of belief and value within the attitudinal nomenclature.Workers values(the core elements in the independent variables) and how they may influence work attitudes are spelt out.

Chapter 8 examines the independent variables. This chapter specifically attempts to demonstrate that the independent variables are derived from significant religious/cultural institutions which are firmly rooted in the Nigerian society. This is important because,as I have earlier argued, the values which determine work attitudes in urban employment are derived from these salient religious/cultural institutions.

Chapter 9 examines the background information on the organizations that were investigated.The city of Yola where a predominance of these organizations are located is also discussed.This discussion is necessary in order to highlight how prevailing societal values might influence work attitudes in the objective conditions of the workplace.

Chapter 10 is mainly concerned with the methods employed to gather the data for this study.This chapter states that the interview method was adopted for this study because some of those who

constituted the sample for this study were illiterate and could not have been able to read the questions if it were mailed to them. Besides, the Nigerian postal system is grossly unreliable,making it particularly difficult to adopt mailed questionnaires for this study. The chosen sample was randomized to ensure equal representation of all the disparate groups present in the organizations that were investigated.

The result of the study is presented in chapter 11. This result is based on a battery of statistical tests, e.g.,percentage distribution of scores(by organizations) on each of the questions administered,t test of comparison between both groups(private/public) on each of the scales measured, test of orthogonal contrast between both groups and finally,the analysis of variance between both groups. The alfa level chosen to ascertain statistical significance in this study is(.05). Thus, I want to be 95% certain that the result of each measure is not due to chance.

Chapter 12 discusses the summary and conclusion of this study.Based on the empirical results, the hypotheses are upheld namely that:a statistically significant contrast exists between private and public workers on all the attitudinal items on which they were compared.On the basis of this finding, I have recommended that some structural modifications should be made to public organizations with a view to achieving a congruence between workers orientations and organizational objective(s).This would be the first, real step, toward inducing positive attitudes in public workers.

CHAPTER TWO

WORKERS' ORIENTATIONS AS DETERMINANT OF WORK ATTITUDES

This chapter sets out to examine the dependent and independent variables for this study. The dependent variable is attitude to work. Attitude to work is here defined as the predisposition of an individual worker to respond in some preferential manner to his work. Such attitudinal response may either be verbal expression of an opinion or some form of non-verbal behaviour which may have positive or negative consequences for the overall functioning of the organization. Workers will either be positively inclined or negatively disposed in some degree toward their job(this assumption stems from the conventional bi-polarity of attitudinal measurement(see Sherif et. al.,1965).

Attitudes are psychological representations of societal and cultural influences. Worker's values,to a large extent,determine their attitude to work. Rokeach(1960:160), noted that:
once a value is internalized, it becomes consciously or unconsciously, a standard or criterion for guiding action,for developing and maintaining attitudes towards relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and other's actions and attitudes.

This definition of attitude is consistent with those advanced by Kluckhohn (1951), Smith(1963), Williams(1968) and Hofstede and

Kranenburg(1974). Thus, in this study work attitudes will be explained by examining work related values that workers bring from the larger environment. The assumption here is that work attitudes can best be understood if due consideration is given to the prevailing values in the larger society. This is important because these prevailing values in the larger society constitute workers orietations,which in turn influence work attitudes in the objective conditions of urban employment.

Since I repeatedly mention workers' orientations in the course of this text, it is pertinent at this juncture to state the relationship between values/orientations and attitudes.Attitudes are formed only in relation to some decipherable object(s) or thing(s). An individual could form an attitude about a specific brand of car, people of a particular race,or certain types of jobs.Generally, attitudes are either negative or positive and are shaped by the predominant values that people hold in particular societies. These values, which are learned through the gamut of one's existence(e.g.,during early socialization, adolescent years and while playing various roles as an adult member of society), tend to have an enduring influence on an individual's perception of what is good and bad in society. Therfore, the attitudes people hold towards certain jobs or objects are determined largely by the predominant societal values relating to these jobs or objects. The Nigerian worker, because he is enmeshed in these rural values, is understandably influenced in the workplace by these values which,as has been previously argued, constitute his work orientation.

To illustrate, the rural setting is characterized by several solidary groups which traditionally co-operate to accomplish specific communal tasks. For example, freedom to use personal initiative is the rule rather than the exception and rural organizational structures are flexible rather than sacrosanct. The prospective migrant internalizes these organizational values while growing up in the rural area. When he migrates to the city, these salient rural values also constitute his orientation in urban employment. It is the interaction of these rural values with the objective conditions of the workplace that determines work attitudes.

The argument that follows from this premise is that the sharp discrepancy between workers orientations and the objective conditions of the workplace is responsible for the pervasive negative attitudes to public work. There is ample corroborative evidence in the literature for this line of argument. Ocho(1982), for example, while writing about Nigerian workers, has indicated that the values which workers hold and the compatibility of these values with the values implicit in public organizational structure, will determine workers attitudes and job-involvement. Hofstede and Kranenburg (1974) have also indicated that the attitudes of workers are influenced by the values of their home culture and their adaptation to the new values implicit in the kinds of jobs they hold. Gaillie's (1978) study of oil refineries in France and Britain has also suggested that more significance should be attached to the structure and culture of the society outside the plant than to

technological or other workplace based influences,this being indicated by the distinctly more conflictual and class-conscious orientations of the French workers compared with the British in similar organizational and technological context. The next section will examine the rural conception of work.

THE REFERENCE FOR EVALUATING URBAN EMPLOYMENT

Nigeria consists of 250 ethnic groups (see Callaway, 1975; Otite, 1979). The three major ethnic groups are the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Ibo. Among Hausa villages there is considerable variation in indigenous political forms as well as cultural practices among Hausa villages (see Isichei,1983;Crowther,1973). There are also internal variations (in cultural practices and political forms) among the groups that are commonly known as the Yoruba peoples(see Lloyd,1967,Peace,1979;Peel,1983). Internal cultural variation among the Ibo is minimal compared to the other two groups (the Hausa and the Yoruba,see Grove,1979). Amid this ethnic plurality,however, are common cultural/religious institutions (see Isichei,1983). Some of the cultural institutions which are common to almost all of the ethnic groups are :(1)the age grade organizations,(2)the extended family networks, (3)kinship networks.In the northern parts of the country where the Islamic religion provides a distinct way of life, religious institutions such as (4) Brotherhoods and (5) Koranic Schools are particularly important in the socialization process of adherents to the Islamic faith. Values that are learned from these institutions tend to similarly emphasize the need for support and

co-operation among group members both at work and outside of work situation.It should be emphasized that these institutions do not carry equal importance in all parts of the country but,at least, one or the other (religious or cultural) operate and influence those who interact within the particular institutional framework.As Prof.Fafunwa(1974:19) rightly noted:

> Age grouping is more common among certain Nigerian ethnic groups than others. The Nupe and the Ekiti. The Egba and the Ijebu,the Eko(Lagosian), the Ibibio ,the Bini and the Fulani use this system either for community development,educational purposes or/and citizenship training.

Ogundijo (1970:32) in his study of the (Yoruba) Ejigbo District of Oshun in Western Nigeria , similarly argued that age groupings "served useful purposes because they trained children about the advantages to be derived from from group solidarity and co-operative work." The importance of kinship obligations among the Hausa has been highlighted by Hill (1972) while the mutual support that is generally the way of life of Hausa villages has been discussed by Shenton and Watts (1979). Some of the influential writings of Lloyd (1962) have highlighted the importance of the kinship institution among the Yoruba(also see Peace,1979).Peace has criticised Lloyd (1962) for reducing the indigenous politics of the Yoruba to kinship. As Peel (1983:10)put it"in Lloyd's(1962) case,politics is reduced to kinship, for the rules of kinship are treated as producing forms(i.e.,the lineage) anterior to and deterministic of

politics. In neither case is serious attention paid to the very forms of politics itself."Law(1977) has similarly been criticised on grounds of being reductionist about chieftaincy titles in his discussion of the politics of old Oyo Empire (see Peel,1983:10). The pervasiveness of the extended family as well as the obligations that kinsmen owe to each other has also been discussed in the literature(see Peil,1981; di Domenico,1973; 1983;Peace,1979;Fapohunda,1978;Peel,1983). While highlighting the supportive role of the extended family system, Fapohunda(1978:225), for example, indicated that:

> The purpose of the extended family is to provide some measure of social security for its members in a world traditionally filled with uncertainty and to encourage co-operative efforts among the kin.

Caldwell (1976) in his study in Western Yorubaland indicated that within the rural community the power and prestige of an extended family varied with its size (also see Isichei,1983). The fulfilment of extended family obligations has been given as one reason why Hausa women secure paid employment. As Fapohunda (1978:225) put it,"the desire to fulfil extended family obligations encourages a woman to seek money income. Even the secluded Muslim Hausa women engage in household crafts or commercial food processing in order to obtain money for extended family gifts. These gifts heelp to maintain and solidify a woman's position in her lineage. In case of marital discord or divorce, she can turn to her extended family

for help or support."

In addition to aforementioned socio-cultural values,religious values are are also likely to influence urban work attitudes among Muslims in the northern parts of the country. These religious values which largely derive from institutions such as the Brotherhoods and the Koranic schools also lay emphasis on the need to co-operate in the implementation of particular projects. Furthermore, these institutions emphasize the need for Muslims to support one another (see Paden 1974 ;Isichei,1983). Koranic schools are,perhaps, more influential in the education of the Muslim youth. Muslim kids begin their Islamic education from a very early age. The general practice is for parents to send their children to mallams (learned Islamic teachers) to be tutored in the tradition of Islam. As Fafunwa (1974:23) rightly noted,"children were sent to the mallam's residence in the afternoon for three to four hours. Here they learned the Koran by heart fromn the mallam who taught them ethics from the Islamic point of view." Some of these children who are generally called Almajiri in Hausa (which is a corrupt form of Al-Muhajir, an Arabic word for an emigrant,see Alkali,1961) come from distant villages. They live with the mallam, collectively work for him,and sometimes provide him with gifts. These kids are generally to be found in open markets in the northern parts of the country. They help those who frequent these markets to convey their bags to the car or house (as the case may be) in exchange for gifts (monetary or otherwise) that are usually given to them(see Schildkrout,1983). The important to note is that by their training

these children come to value group work and the need to support one another .During the graduation ceremony(the Wolimat) every group with which the Almajiri had associated in and out of training come to share in the joy of the graduation. As Fafunwa(1974:63) rightly noted,"on the scheduled day, the graduand , his decorated slate in his hand , tours the houses of his teachers, his in- laws, his own parents and relatives with an entourage of friends." Thus from an early age,the Muslim child, in compliance with the teaching of the Hadith (which says: the best man among you is the one who learns the Koran and then cares to teach it,see Doi,1970,p.90) is brought up in a strictly Islamic tradition with its emphasis on co-operation and supportiveness. This strict initiation into the Muslim faith has a lingering consequence and tends to influence the general world view of the Muslim individual as an adult member of society. Adult Muslims, in compliance with one of the five canons of the Koran, are particularly aware of their duties to give alms to the poor as well as to exchage gifts during Muslim festivals. Thus, the cultural emphasis on the need to support disadvantaged neighbours/kinsmen is generally reinforced by the religious stipulation which also emphasizes support for destitutes as well as those in need. The need to fulfil such admixture of cultural/religious obligations among the Muslims is highlighted by Kilby(1969:218):

> Muslims exchange gifts in set kinship context such as child birth, naming, circumcision, marriage,death and in others which establish special social relations such as bond friendship

> or clientage. Islam provides another frame for transfers and exchange of gifts at fixed festivals such as id el fitr,id el kabir or the tenth day of Muharram.Taken together, these customary transfers form a seperate system and express certain interdependent values especially those of religion kinship and community.

It should be re-emphasized that the values which influence non Muslims workers are largely derived from culttural institutions such as the age grade organizations, kinship and extended family networks. As Fafunwa (1974:19) indicted, "traditional African education finds expression in the age group associations, where the individual acquires behaviour patterns, abilities and skills necessary for effective citizenship in the community in which he lives." I shall at intervals refer to cultural/ religious practices that are peculiar to the three major Nigerian ethnic groups (Ibo,Hausa,Yoruba) but I do not wish to restrict my references to these groups so as to avoid a possible bias against minority ethnic groups. Therefore, I also intend to draw on materials from the relatively understudied minority group namely, the Urhobo (Peil,1981, has examined the pattern of inter-ethnic marriages among these people;Otite,1979 has also highlighted their pattern of migration.) peoples of Abraka in the Delta area of Nigeria.It is only by so doing that the Urhobo peoples will become known and then, studied.

The important point that needs to be made from the foregoing discussion is that the various cultural/religious institutions tend to emphasize that work should carried out on a co-operative basis. The co-operative tendency towards work(commonly known as ganya) in Hausa villages has been highlighted by Shenton and Watts(1979). The (ebese) a similar form of co-operative work among the Yoruba age grades of Ilesha has also been highlighted by Peel(1983). Thus, whether in the northern or southern parts of the country some common organizational elements are easily decipherable,viz.,(1) indigenous work tended to be co-operative. (2) group members were encouraged to use their personal initiative and to accept responsibilty for the consequences that may flow from the the use of such task related initiative (see Peace's ,1979, discussion of support groups formed by migrant workers in Agege). (3) the extended family is universally acknowledged as the pivot around which work revolved (see Isichei,1983). An extended family network is made up of different households which are believed to be descendent from a common ancestry. Members of an extended family are,thus,linked by consanguine ties. Every male member of the family has an equal share in the assets and liabilities of the family. A death in the family is a sorrowful event for everyone, while a birth is also a joyful event for all. As Fafunwa(1974:18) rightly noted,"the arrival of a child in a Nigerian family is a great occasion .It is celebrated with fanfare and merriment.The naming ceremony is conducted in full view of all of the members of the extended family,relatives and friends. Special rites are performed by the head of the family and the child may be given as many as half a dozen names."It should

also be noted that age was accorded high respect within the extended family network.

The organization of work under these religious /cultural frameworks tended to be informal and leadership position in some cases was usually rotated among members of the group (Obayemi,1976,p.256, for example, has discussed the rotatory pattern of leadership among some Yoruba ana Igala peoples). In some parts of northern Nigeria e.g.,Rafin Kirya,an individual maintained his leadership position as long as he remanied unbeaten in the series of inter peer groups wrestling contests. The moment a particular leader suffered defeat he also forfeited his leaderhip position. This pattern of leadership is symbolic of the temporary nature in which leadership position was generally perceived among these people(see Fafunwa,1974;Isa,1971).This form of rotatory leadership is also true of some Urhobo peoples in the Southern part of the country. For example, among the Urhobo of Abraka in the Delta area of Nigeria, leadership in communal projects was traditionally rotated. Among this people, the indigenous political system was so designed that leadership was rotated among the several villages that made-up the Abraka clan. Thus, there is no fixed royal family.In the realm of work,leadership was equally transitory, consisting basically of co-ordinating the day's work. At the start of a typical communal task, the most elderly person in the group(because of the traditional reverence for age) picked a leader for that particular day. Normally,the most elderly person picked his immediate junior as leader for the first day. If the particular task exceeded a day,the

person next in age to his immediate junior(although not necessarily in that order) was picked as leader for the second day and so on,until this day-long ephemeral leadership was rotated among all members of the work team. These transitory group leaders apportioned as well as co-ordinated the work tasks of group members.During a hunting expedition,the leader showed the way to where he felt game might be plentiful. The leader normally acted in line with suggetions from group members. This form of collective decision-making has also been found to be true of the Igbos of Enugwu-Ukwu. Okafor-Omali(1965:32), commenting on the democratic organizational pattern adopted by the Igbos of Enugwu -Ukwu, noted that:

> when matters of village concern such as clearing of roads,land disputes and disagreement between sections of the village were raised,all persons were represented in the discussion. In councils,men of wealth and power as well as those with outstanding intelligence ,even though younger,exercised influence.

Thus, in most rural organizations leadership positions were relatively fluid in the sense that the mantle of leadership was transitorily worn by virtually every member of the workgroup. Leadership basically consisted of directing the day's job. This practice has survived in various forms over the years.

Due to kinship ties, members of a work group maintained intense social interaction outside of the work situation. A typical evening

in a rural area usually involved the construction of a bonfire where several work groups converged to narrate folk tales and exchange views on matters of general interest.Groups which needed extra help on their farms sought assistance in this social gathering (see Ogundijo,1970). In such circumstances, help was readily rendered in the hope that such a gesture of goodwill would be reciprocated over time.Group solidarity and companionship was stregthened among Muslims by participating in Brotherhood projects and prayer meetings in the mosque (see Isichei,1983,p.438).

It is not uncommon for an individual to belong to several task groups which sometimes overlapped (e.g.,village construction task force,village hunting team, village vigilante group, etc.). These task groups usually made up of age grades,are ubiquitous in rural Nigeria till this day. For a discussion of age grade organizations among the Hausa,Fulani and Nupe peoples see, Fafunwa,1974 and Nadel,1972. For an account of age grade organizations among the Yoruba see, Obayemi,1976;Peel,1983 and Lloyd,1953. Discussions of Ibo age grade organizations are contained in the works of Uchendu,1965; Ottenberg,1962;1971 and Flint,1966. The author, for example, belongs to his village construction task force. Ifemesia (1979) has also emphasized that age grades are vital institutions through which democratic Igbo communities co-operated to work(also see Lieber,1971). It should be noted that there were specific expectations associated with membership of each of these groups. For example, as a member of the village construction task force ,an individual was expected to actively participate in all village

construction projects (e.g., the sinking of a bore hole, the construction of market stalls,town hall, etc.). It should be noted that village people who belonged to these groups, but as a result of urban employment or education were not resident in the village, were required to pay some paltry sums of money each time they visited the village. This money was meant to compensate for the volume of work they missed while they were away in the urban world. As a member of the hunting task force, an individual was expected to participate in the frequent hunting expeditions which ,more or less,supplemented the protein requirements of the indigenous people. As a member of the village vigillante group, an individual was expected to assist in defending the village against external incursions. Above all,it should be reiterated that a rural person belonged to an elaborate, extended family network. The rural person derived his primary values from this family network. His needs reflect the generalized needs of members of this family. Thus, it is important to bear in mind that the needs of the individiual Nigerian are tied up with the generalized needs of members of the extended family. This is particularly significant when determining the extent to which workers' needs are satisfied by specific incentive schemes in urban employment sectors.

Finally, it should also be borne in mind that Nigerians generally place a premium in the celebration of rites de passage ceremonies (e.g.,birth, marriage, death). Some of the scholars who have documented the significance of these ceremonies are Peace(1979) and Kilby (1969). Others include Talbot (1967),for pre-natal and birth

ceremonies, Okafor-Omali(1965), in the case of birth and childhood ceremonies, and Lieber (1971), for naming ceremonies. In the event of the death of an extended family member surviving relatives traditionally paid homage in the company of the work group(s) to which they belonged. The funeral ceremony of an extended family member was generally an occasion when family members gathered to pay their last respects in style. Family members turned out in their best attire. The more affluent members of the family were easily distinguishable because of their spectacularly exorbitant raiment and the exotic cars in which they rode. Live bands were often invited and huge sums of money was spent on drinks, food and general entertainment, even to the extent that some people have argued that, if a tenth of the money squandered on funeral ceremonies were contributed to an effective health delivery programme,the mortality rate could be considerably lowered. Suffice it to say that death ceremonies are occasions when family members came (usually in the company of their work groups) to pay their last respects. Such groups fully participate in the traditional funeral rites (e.g.,shooting the dane gun, dancing, cooking, presenting gifts and helping with general arrangements of such ceremonies). It is important to emphasize that there is an entrenched tradition of exchanging gifts and visits during these ceremonies.

It should be re-emphasized that the needs of the Nigerian encapsulate the more generalized needs of members of his extended family network. It is only with respect to this familial context that the individual's needs acquire meaning. Expatiating on the all-

encompassing nature of the needs of the Nigerian, the veteran Nigerian politician, Awolowo (1981:77), stated that"the well being of each member of the family is the concern of all and vice versa, and the wealth of the family is shared among its members with maanifest fairness and equality". This tradition of family help is so entrenched that to break the rule, according to Collis (1970), is very much worse than to cheat authorities or even steal.

The pattern of work organization discussed in this section is true and typical of present-day Nigerian villages (North or South). The question of who appropriates the product of these peoples' labour is outside the purview of this discussion. The point that needs to be reiterated is that whenever there is work to be done in the rural setting, be it commercial or subsistence agriculture, unless there are specific organizational instructions to the contrary,rural people tend to fall back on these age-old organizational techniques namely, emphasis on co-operation in the implementation of specific tasks. An urban migrant on a short visit to the rural setting is traditionally obliged to participate in these co-operatively based rural projects (or farming ventures). New migrants moving to the town for the first time have already acquired a conception of work that is largely based on the co-operative pattern which surrounds rural work. In urban employment the migrant discovers that those religious/cultural values which he had learned and which emhasize support and co-operation among workmates are implicitly or explicitly (as the case may be) de-emphasized in the objective condition of urban employment and the ensuing value-conflict affects

his attitude to the work.

To summarize, the prominent and enduring features of rural work organization include the following:A rural organization revolved around the extended family network. Such an organization generally possessed a flexible hierarchy of positions. Although, age was accorded high respect,leadership(which consisted mainly of co-ordinating specific tasks) was rotated among members of a work group. This salient feature of organizational fluidity created opportunities for organizational members to apply personal initiative in specific tasks and also to accept responsibility for the consequence(s) resultant from such task related initiatives. Partly due to kinship ties, members of rural organizations maintained intense interaction outside of the work situation. The needs of a member of rural organization extended to the more generalized needs of members of his extended family. A rural person often belonged to several task groups and he was expected to involve some or all the members of his task group(s) in rites de passage ceremonies of his extended family members. It was during such ceremonies that kinsmen assessed the importance of each other within the extended family framework. Having discussed the rural conception of work, the significance of the extended family in the execution of rural projects, and the role of the individual worker with respect to this somewhat overwhelming family network. This value-conflict model of explaining contemporary negative work attitudes is not the only version that has been deployed to examine work practices in Nigeria. I intend to examine some of these other

versions in the next chapter. The point should be reiterated that these alternative versions are discussed in order to highlight the point that the value-conflict model that is adopted for this study is not the only option available for explaining organizational behaviour. While none of the selected studies have particularly addressed Nigerian work attitudes, the issues they are concerned with, have important implications for work attitudes.

CHAPTER THREE

ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES IN NIGERIA

CLASS CONFLICT ANALYSIS

In this section, I intend to briefly examine a few studies that have adopted different (from this particular study) frameworks for explaining organizational behaviour. Some of these other studies have adopted a marxian framework of class deprivation in the explanation of organizational behaviour. Choice, Class and Conflict:A Study of Southern Nigerian Factory Workers by Peace(1979) is one such alternative version. This study is basically an ethnographic account of wage earners as they cope with the experience of modern urban life and the demands of industrial employment in the context of a highly unequal society. Peace's(1979) work is different from the present one in many respects. First, Peace's work is not devoted to an explanation of work attitudes. Second, Peace straightforwardly adopted a Marxian framework of class deprivation in an attempt to explain the involvement of these workers in the 1971 Nigerian nation-wide strike. Finally, the work is largely descriptive. It is also important to mention some points of convergence between the study by Peace and the present one. First, Peace(1979) indicated that most of these workers were migrants from adjoining Yoruba villages and towns;that these workers were encumbered with obligations to an elaborate network of kinsmen and extended family members,"the general pattern appears to be that

migrants are eager and anxious to assume responsibilities to those in their places of origin (p.62)." "These workers pay school fees for economically disadvantaged family members. Such commitments appear to be between £N20 and £N30 per annum, roughly one term's fees (p.63)." "It is essential for the wealthy man to improve the circumstances of his lineage by either making improvements to its lineage property or by sponsoring poor or young members. Increasingly it is expected that a man should educate the sons of less successful siblings (p.51)." Peace also highlighted the fact that migrants attempt to simulate village groups in urban centres. These groups operate on the basis of co-operation mainly to cushion new migrants against possible environmental uncertainties. In this respect, a new migrant is readily accommodated and provided with free food by the social network of those from his village or his linguistic group."Members have to operate on the basis that the individual currently being supported will be reciprocated in due course when others encounter similar difficulties to his own (p.32)." "Continued co-operation , a complex set of reciprocal exchanges and a high degree of initial trust are then,the main characteristics of recent migrants' network (p.35)." While in the urban centre, the migrant makes frequent trips to his home village in order to maintain close ties with kin as well as to participate in village activities. Such home visits are rarely made alone. They are usually made with members of the group(s) to which one belongs in the urban centre." As with more expensive consumer item purchases, these are generally co-operative endeavours:members of an Agege network return home in tandem. This is timed to coincide

with particular events such as a wake, a naming ceremony, a kinsman's marriage or the marriage of an old school friend (p.41)."

Having identified the cultural attributes of these people, a conceptual expectation is raised namely,that Peace(1979) would explain their work behaviour by examining the extent to which these cultural attributes are recognised in the particular organizational circumstance. Although Peace(1979:93) rightly indicated that "much of their work is highly mechanised and that there is little opportunity for workers to exercise initiative or control over their work," he avoided a value-conflict interpretation and rather adopted a marxian framework of understanding for this specific organizational situation. The next part of this section will be devoted to explaining the inappropriateness of a marxian framework of understanding in this particular Nigerian organizational context.

Peace (1979) started from two wrong premises. First, he indicated that the workers he studied were ethnically heterogeneous because they migrated largely from Yoruba towns and villages such as Egba, Egbado, Ijebu, Awori, Ibadan, Ekiti,Ijesha and so on. The claim of ethnic heterogeneity based on aforementioned towns is untrue.These towns are commonly known as Yoruba towns. They all share a common dynastic origin, they all speak the Yoruba language and, except the Ekiti dialect which is particularly difficult, they understand each other(see Johnson,1921). It is true that these Yoruba groups fought one another during the eighteenth century;and that there are subtle differences in their forms of socio-political organization . The

fact is that they are generally known as Omo Oduduwa (the descendants of Oduduwa), and, therefore, there is no controversy as to their ethnic homogeneity (see Omogbehin,1985). This ethnographic clarification is particularly important in the discussion of class consciousness in the particular Nigerian social setting because ethnic identity or consciousness is known to have consistently undercut class consciousness (see Callaway,1975). As Peace (1979:171) rightly noted,"it is of course indisputable that the majority of political conflicts have been ethnic ones in Nigeria, and most analyses of emergent political forms have rightly concerned themselves with structured ethnic conflicts over available scarce resouces."

Second, the assertion that "as wage earners these workers have the same class situation as factory workers in Westen Europe,the United States and other African capitalist countries,(p.14.) "is equally unfounded. Social/cultural characteristics such as the obligations owed to kinsmen and extended family members;the impact of ethnicity or religion on class consciousneses, etc., all together make the Nigerian worker substantially different from their European and American counterparts. It is simply reductionist to define classes in terms of wage-earning alone. Furthermore, the marxian framework of analysis adopted by Peace is particularly confounded by his frequent reference to 'lifestyles' and 'lifechances'(Weberian conception of classes). These Weberian conceptions spattered all over the text makes the reader to begin to wonder if his purported objective to explain classes in terms of Marx's framework is meant

to be a a hybrid between Weberian index of class i.e., similarity of lifestyles and lifechances and Marx's notion of class which is based on one's objective economic situation. Peace, himself finds it difficult to extricate himself from the theoretical dilemma created by this strange admixture of Weber and Marx and this dilemma leads him to make contradictory statements. For example, Peace(1979:174) indicated that "the small-scale traders, motor mechanics,electricians and others have the same meagre lifestyles as the average wage earner, but do not have the same organizational ability to protest because of their different class situation." In another breath, the difference between the wage earners and the self-employed is blurred and they are lumped together as belonging to the same group." In the course of everyday life a sense of unity is continually articulated by wage earners and the self-employed,a feeling of shared identity in which 'Us' the urban poor at large ,are judged to be diametrically opposed to 'Them' the rich who rule in an irresponsible and voraciously self-interested fashion(see p.175.)." The point that needs to be made is that Peace (1979) himself cannot define class in any consistent way.While Peace has attempted (unconvincingly) to explain the 1971 strike action as a measure of class consciousness, I shall in in the next section explain the same strike action using equity theory.

THE DEMAND FOR EQUITY

I have decided to propose an alternative explanation mainly because I feel that equity theory presents a more cogent and plausible

explanation of the strike action that took place in Nigeria in 1971. The demand for equity rather than class conflict is a better explanation of what occured in Ikeja industrial Estate in 1971. Simply put, a problem of equity prevailed in 1971 when government awarded salary increases to public workers without compelling employers of labour to make similar awards in the private sector. Government awarded salary increases to public workers with a clumsy provision that private employers should use their discretion to determine whether they needed similar awards in their respective organizations. Most private workers across the country(including the Ikeja Industrial Estate that Peace studied) started work-to-rule actions to put pressure on their employers to agree to pay the salary awards. These work-rule actions because they contravened decree number 53 of 1970 and 1971 (which banned any form of industrial action) compelled the government to put pressure on private employers to pay the awards. The Gowon administration of the day was especially concerned about the destabilizing consequences that a nation-wide strike action might cause and was bent on closing any loopholes that might be exploited to unseat his government. When private employers finally agreed to pay the awards the perceived inequity between private and public workers was to an extent resolved in the sense that both groups of workers received the awards but intra sector inequity remained because, as Peace (1979:116) rightly noted," those who gained most were already rich."

Even if one accepts Peace's (1979:135) superficial definition of

class consciousness as "the ability of workers to oppose their employers,"problems still arise. These shop floor workers would not have opposed their employers if government had not announced the Adebo awards of 1971. It is unlikely that their employers would have conceded to workers' demands if government,apparently unsure of its own stability, had not intervened in the matter.The strategy adopted by these workers in the negotiation process was,to say the least,unmarxian. As Peace (1979:167) indicated,"these workers have to be goaded into collective action. A trigger for confrontation has to be provided from above which crystallizes their hostility to the existing system and provides the workers with a tangible rallying point for collective action. These are workers who respond to situations created for them by others rather than being able to take the initiative on their own account." Thus, viewing the 1971 strike action as an index of class consciousness in any real sense is a gross oversimplification.

The claim by Peace that these workers'shared circumstances provided a basis for their, supposedly existent, proletarian culture is equally fraught with problems. The emergence of a proletarian culture was continually inhibited by the tendency towards intra-group hostility which was reflected in the sterotypes with which each occupational group regarded the other. There were even divisions among the shop floor workers. One group comprised those who have stayed in urban employment long enough to have accumulated enough money to set up private enterprises while still retaining their jobs, while the other group comprised new employees

who,arguably,were unlikely to share similar lifestyles with the former group. The supervisors, according to Peace (1979:89),had entrepreneurial aspirations and most of them had already "established business enterprises, consumer goods stores, tenement buildings,etc.,..and they were not interested in trade unionism." Similarly, he notes that "Clerks were distinct from ordinary workers (p.90)." If these status differences existed within and between the occupational groups in the Ikeja Industrial Estate what basis is there for Peace to claim that workers here shared common circumstances. Almost as though aware of this particular criticism, Peace thenceforward, changed his tone and accordingly referred to the 1971 strike action as a worker rebellion (p.169) which is exactly what it was. It was a a worker rebellion because the workers did not aim to dismantle the existing, supposedly exploitative, organizational structure and establish a non-exploitative alternative. The situation around which the strike action revolved (meagre salary in the face of spiralling inflation)existed long enough before 1971 and these workers, from within their ranks,could not call a strike action to protest the situation but had to wait for governement to provide the catalyst for them to act. Even when the awards evidently skewed in favour of the 'already affluent'workers, the shop floor workers whom Peace (1979) claimed possessed a revolutionary potential could not initiate any further protest.Rather than restrict his marxian analysis to the 'exploitative relationships' within the organizational setting with which he was concerned, Peace, every now and then,went on to highlight the social inequality that existed in the larger society .

It becomes unclear if the reason(s) for workers'discontent is attributable to the existence of social inequalities in the larger society or to particular exploitative practices within specific firms. As Peace (1979:40) indicated,"workers' discontent is further compounded by the enormous division which exists between the workers' shared circumstances and the lifestyles and life chances of Nigerian national bourgeoisie which is particularly concentrated in the capital...the major source of their grievance,however,is the extent to which successive civilian and military governments have reinforced the division between the rich and the poor."

Peace's (1979) work is a solid anthropolgical work in the sense that it highlighted core cultural values of migrant workers, viz.,the respect for elders,the need to fulfil elaborate kinship as well as extended family obligations, the simulation of rural support groups which tend to cushion urban workers against urban environmental uncertainties, etc. These cultural values do not find expresssion in urban employment circumstances and the resultant value conflict is evidently one reason why "independence is a near-universal ambition among shop-floor workers (p.49)." Peace (1979) apparently foundered by adopting an economic deterministic model of the Nigerian wage earner--the worker dissents because he is paid low wages. In one moment, Peace (1979) forgot all about the social factors that, he consistently insisted, affected the Nigerian urban worker and explained his organizational behavior in terms of wages alone.No explanation is given for choosing this option. From our preceding discusion it is clear that one cannot understand the work

behaviour of the Nigerian without first understanding his social circumstances. Peace(1979) woefully failed to realize as Piore (1980:31) rightly noted that "the social function of the wage is distinct from the economic," as far as the Nigerian worker is concerned. Simply put, the wage for the Nigerian worker is only one means means of meeting his elaborate obligations.It is therefore a spurious interpretation to project an economic determinstic model of the Nigerian worker. Finally, it should be noted that because Peace (1979) investigated European firms, organizational practices were bound to differ substantially from those that these workers learned from cultural/social institutions in the wider society. The point that needs to be reiterated is that there are deeper causes for worker discontent rather than the desire for wage increases as indicated by Peace (1979). I shall now briefly examine Cohen's(1980) article which sees negative behaviours such as desertion, the feigning of illness at work, etc., as forms of worker consciousness.

RESISTANCE AND HIDDEN FORMS OF CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG AFRICAN WORKERS

After producing a volume which concerned itself with the debatable argument that strike actions, unionization, etc., were overt forms of class consciousness, Cohen(1980), went into' analytical quicksand' in the above article to argue that vandalism, drug-taking, desertion from work, etc. were hidden forms of class consciousness. It is to this latter insufficiently corroborated argument that I intend to address this section of the thesis. To begin my argument it is pertinent to reproduce one of the vignettes

with which Cohen(1980) argued his case.

> A pungent odour streamed from one corner of Mokola market. An old woman was selling newspaper wraps of dried'Indian hemp' for one shilling a piece.Labourers mainly from the public workersof the Public Works' Department squatted at the side of of the road and sucked deeply on their joints. It is our reward for a day's work they said.

Marxism is put to ridicule by categorizing those perpetrating a clandestine and illicit drug culture as being class conscious. It remains to be seen if increased drug-taking (which implicitly constitutes intense class consciousness by Cohen's argument) can alter social inequalities in society. The desertion of soldiers from colonial armies, p.13 and the desertion of local labour experienced by the British when they were trying to push through the Baro-Kano railway line in Northern Nigeria were not hidden (as Cohen would want us to believe) but overt forms of disapproval against foreign domination. These desertions can be described as forms of worker consciousness only in the sense that there was unanimity amongst workers as to the need to replace forign rule. But as Cohen would readily admit, but fails to acknowledge, once the colonialist was out of the way, desertions (at least as far as Nigeria is concerned) became a thing of the past. Although Cohen drew on the work of van Onselen (1976) which examined the pattern of resistance exibited by Namibian and South African workers(generally regarded as

labour coercive economies), Cohen failed to exercise the necessary caution before asserting that forms of resistance adopted by workers in these repressive regimes were generalizable to other countries on the continent. If theft is a form of class consciousness then the Nigerian ruling class (the bourgeousie,see Peace,1979),because they have defrauded the state more than any other group,(see Forest,1986), could be regarded as the most class conscious section of the Nigerian populace. But this appears to be a negation or antithesis of Marx's argument which, I presume, Cohen is attempting to advance. Finally,the protest by Hausa textile workers for the incorporation of a praying schedule into the formal structure of the organization is a form of consciousness but, of a religious variation. Again this form of consciousness is not hidden but overt. As Lubeck (1981) rightly noted, these Muslim workers do not wish to introduce an alternative organization to the existing one. The protest is for management to recognise that they uphold paramount religious values which makes it obligatory for them to pray five times a day whether at work or at home. Thus,protest arising from value conflict (of a religious kind) rather than class conflict is a more appropriate description of this specific organizational situation. As will be expected, the protest ceased as soon as management allowed these workers to take time off for prayers each day. The point should be made however that by attempting to extend the concept of class consciousness to include inimical behaviour such as drug taking, etc.,the concept is emptied of any analytic power or distinctive meaning.

ENHANCEMENT OF JOB PERFORMANCE THROUGH GOAL-SETTING

Also worthy of mention is a study titled: Improving Job Performance through Goal-Setting and Supervision:A note on Personality Dimensions- which was carried out by Mbanefo (1983) in the northern parts of Nigeria. The study is an examination of the effects of goal-setting and supervision on job performance. Mbanefo(1983) attempted to test Locke et.al's (1981) proposition that supervision can only enhance performance if it (supervision) is aimed at meeting a specific goal. Briefly, three tin mining leases each with a total of 30 operatives, were matched in terms of previous production records,surface to depth ratios of tin deposits,availability of water at the work site and the estimated amount of tin accessible for mining . The workers in each lease were randomly assigned conditions of goal setting with autocratic and democratic forms of supervision and the experimental control.

Measures of production were taken for four weeks each in the conditions of supervision-goal setting and no goal supervision situations. In addition, the leadership profiles of subordinates were measured. The data analysis indicated that peformance increased more under goal setting with supervision than in either case of goal setting without supervision or supervision without goal-setting. Thus, supervision was found to interact with subordinate leadership personality characteristics in influencing performance under goal-setting conditions. Subordinates who had autocratic orientations performed better under autocratic supervision while

those with democratic profiles performed better under democratic conditions. This study failed to address an important issue namely, the factors which make some people autocratic and others democratic within the same cultural milieu? This sociological ommission is presumably due to the fact that Mbanefo (1983) is a psychologist who,like most of his colleagues, are least concerned with sociological issues. The point needs to be made that the exploration of societal factors which imbue certain individuals with autocratic characteristics and other individuals with democratic characteristics will certainly increase the acceptability of this type of psychological study.I shall now briefly examine the study that was conducted on Nigerian clerical workers by Omogbehin (1985).

THE NIGERIAN CLERICAL WORKERS

The Nigerian Clerical Workers by Omogbehin (1985)is an exploratory study of how organizational structures (private and public sector organizations) shape and affect the attitudes of clerical staff via the systematic distribution of rewards. The exploratory nature of the work is perhaps one reason why Omogbehin did not formulate hypotheses to test the effect of structure on work attitudes.

A few points need to be highlighted as a prelude to a discusion of Omogbehin's work. First, it should be pointed out that the work did not specifically set out to compare work attitudes in both private and public sector organizations. The objective of Omogbehin's (1985)

work was to identify factors which were likely to affect work attitudes in both private and public organizations. Nonetheless, various references to characteristics of public and private organizations in the body of the thesis suggest that positive work attitudes are more likely to be induced by private organizational characteristics. The study was carried out in three Southern Nigerian cities,viz.,Lagos, Akure and Ibadan. The sample on which the study was based was ethnically homogenous comprising largely of Yoruba clerical workers who "consisted 90% of the sample,(see p.94)." The conclusion of the study was mainly based on the percentage distribution of workers' responses to a question on job satisfaction,which was the only question that related to work attitude in the questionnaire schedule.

Omogbehin's (1985:17) study,like the present one, set out from the premise that "a satisfactory sociological elucidation of work attitudes cannot start with the orientations of workers without relating this to their social origin." After criticising needs theories (e.g., those by Mcgregor, Likert,etc.,) for their inherent psychological reductionism, Omogbehin(1985) similarly fell into the trap of demographic reductionism by explaining social origin mainly in terms of demographic variables such as father's occupation,sex and age. Cultural factors that are evidently (in the thesis) influential in the way the worker perceives urban employment are implicitly recognized throughout the thesis but these are not brought together to make a coherent argument for the importance of cultural factors (what he calls social origin) in the determination

of work attitudes. Thus, at various points mention is made of the facts that "workers have obligations (financial and social) to extended family members,(p.84).","working wives support relatives (p.122)."; "workers have economic and social needs (p.27).";"workers draw their 'definition of the situation' from the wider society (p.45).";"workers come into an organization with expectations and aspirations that are shaped by the wider society (p.2)." However, there is no attempt to relate these factors to an explanation of work attitudes in the objective condition of urban employment. Similarly, Omogbehin(1985) drew up a list of negative characteristics of public organizations, e.g.,"job insecurity is now characteristic of all public service jobs irrespective of status (p.73)." "Government are ethnically biased (social and political factors are considered) in their recruitment policies.Private employers are cost conscious,employing workers by qualification and promoting by efficiency rather than patronage (p.94)." "In contrast to public organizations, private organizations have fewer formalities and routine procedures (p.34).," but failed to relate these organizational characteristics to the explanation of work attitudes in these places. The contradiction in his analysis becomes more apparent in the following statements."Most conversations in public organizations take the form of gossip and centre around disillusionment with employment conditions (p.126)."This statement implies that organizational variables (in this case employment conditions) affect work attitudes (disillusionment). In the concluding pages a contrary argument is put forward, i.e.,work attitude is best explained by a combination of cognitive(differences

in the perception of organizational reward) and societal factors (differences in social origin),p.209. First, Omogbehin (1985) makes an artificial distinction between social origin and the perception of organizational rewards. This cannot be. It is social origin that influences the way people, in general, perceive significant objects and situations. Although he does not see the connection , common social origin (because 90% of his sample is Yoruba) is a more cogent explanation of the general disillusionment about employment conditions (as mentioned on p,126). In a nutshell,these workers were disillusioned because public employment conditions did not meet the 'standard condition' which is largely derived from significant cultural institutions in the wider Yoruba society. The ensuing value conflict gave rise to the general disillusionment that was indicated in p.126. The sample is not encompassing enough for the latter statement in page 209 which explained variations in attitude in terms of differences in social origin. This latter statement is not valid because the ethnographic base of his sample does not include people from different social origins. Only Yoruba speaking peoples are covered. Omogbehin (1985) noted that private organizations employed fewer women because conflicting family roles impaired the commit ment they had to their jobs (also see di Domenico,1983). He also cited West Africa Magazine,No. 3480:951 which stated that, "Nigerian working women spent official time in non-official engagements." He personally discovered in his study that more experienced women were not committed to their jobs. He failed to relate these important points to his conclusion about women's employment which blandly stated that, women were customarily less

capable of manipulating the reward system or of achieving upward mobility because they were less well educated. Quite conscious of the shortcomings of his study, Omogbehin (1985:233) rightly concluded that"the sampled workers and organizations are confined to a few selected clerks and employers in one part of the country. There is need for a large scale cross-country study which would provide more accurate national information." A major weakness of all the alternative organizational studies is the neglect of societal factors in the explanation of organizational behviour.It is only when these societal factors are considered that the behaviour of the Nigerian worker can be best understood. This particular study directly examines these societal factors. I will in the next section examine the independent variables that were chosen for this study.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

This section sets out to examine in detail the independent variables chosen for this study. It is important to reiterate my previous argument that workers orientations largely determine work attitudes in urban employment settings. Because workers orientations are important in understanding work attitudes, and because such orientation is shaped by cognate salient values in the wider society, I decided to choose five salient organizational elements as the explanatory variables for this study. These independent variables include: (a) Familial/personal needs. This was chosen

mainly because the urge to satisfy the needs of extended family members is a pre-eminent value among rural people. Since the need to discharge one's obligations to extended family members is sufficiently internalized before the rural person migrates to the city, it is only logical to predict that the migrant would expect the incentive scheme of urban employment to satisfy this elaborated definition of needs that is generally taken for granted in the rural area. (b) Powerlessness. A premium is placed on the amount of power exercised by members of particular cultural/religious institutions. For example, Muslim youths on their own initiative carry out a series of community projects from which they get money to support the mallam and members of his household. Every member of an age grade organization equally wields significant influence in task related matters at the village level. Each member offers their own suggestion(s) at each stage in the execution of a community project.The relatively unrestricted use of personal initiative in rural organizations is one indication of how much significance is attached to the extent to which workers are free to wield some form of power in the organization. These workers would expect to wield some form of power in urban employment,and their attitudes would follow from the extent to which they are allowed to wield this power. (c) Boredom.A rural organization was usually a beehive of activities. Every member of the workgroup was virtually involved in all facets of the organization. People felt a sense of belonging and there was little room for boredom. (d) Individual vs system blame. The freedom to take initiative in rural organizational matters was closely followed by the preparedness to accept

responsibility for the consequence(s) such initiatives may bring. Since each initiative was associated with a specific person, blame could rightly be apportioned for any initiative that backfired. Thus, it was not common for workers in the rural setting to shirk responsibility for initiatives that boomeranged.(e)Satisfaction.The overall rural organizational climate, inevitably produced a feeling of satisfaction among rural workers. These are the rural work values which shaped the orientation that workers brought with them to urban employment sectors. The interaction of these values with the objective conditions of the job determined the attitudes that workers held towards their jobs.

FAMILIAL/PERSONAL NEEDS.

Having discussed the rural organizational elements from which the hypotheses were derived,I will now outline the independent variables in some detail and provide the rationale for their significance for the theme of this thesis. These independent variables rather than others were chosen for reasons that can be infered from the preceding section. First, the fact that individual worker's needs were determined by the the elaborate extended family system, presupposes that if workers elaborated needs were recognized and adequately met,this would determinedly affect their attitudes to the job. Unlike the Western world where the mention of the word family essentially calls to mind the immediate kin/dependents of the

nuclear family,family in the Nigerian context unequivocally means 'the extended family'. Therefore, familial/personal needs refer to the ability of the organization to meet workers personal/familial needs in this wider kinship network. It should be noted that workers needs are not as restrictive as Maslow's(1954) somewhat artificial hierarchy of needs. A worker's obligations may even extend to unknown(to him) members of the extended family.Such obligations may include sponsorship of family members in higher institutions of learning,attendance at important festivals in the village of origin,attendance and presentation of gifts at births ,marriage and death ceremonies of extended family members(usually in an entourage of work mates). In a study conducted in Lagos metropolis, Marris (1961:110) discovered that:Seventy percent of the heads of households interviewed gave some regular help to at least one member of their family outside their household,apart from wives or dependent children, and fifty five percent said they gave an average of a pound a month. Since most of them earned less than £20 a month and over a third less than £11, the contribution was a substantial part of their income. These sums did not include occasional gifts or the expenses at family ceremonies. Thus,the needs of the individual worker must be placed in the extended family context before it can be assessed whether they are being adequately met

POWERLESSNESS

Powrlessness refers to the feelings generally held by workers as a result of the sharp discrepancy that they experience between initial

expectations and the reality of public employment. The worker typically discovers to his dismay that public organizational features (e.g.,General Orders) curtail the freedom to use initiative,to introduce co-operative work groups or any of the salient and self-motivating features of rural organization.

Coming from the rural area with its flexible organizational climate, where personal initiative is allowed to thrive and flourish, the worker discovers,much to his chagrin, that there is a marked contrast between rural organizational features and the reality of public employment. Since the worker cannot take much,if any,initiative in organizational matters, he resigns himself to routine work. He contributes little to organizational decision-making because virtually every decision is thrust on him from above. His work is strictly in accordance with instructions from those in the higher levels of organizational hierarchy. Most often, these instructions are obsolete and irrelevant to contemporary organizational requirements. For example, the General Orders, the bible of the public service is generally believed to be unsuitable for present requirements in the public service (see The Editorial opinion of The Punch,August 26,1986). Yet there is no determined effort by the government to revise this oudated document. The constraints that the general Orders impose on young public servants dampen their enthusiasm for the job and influence their attitudes in an adverse direction.

Powerlessness is thus an index of alienation, defined by Seeman

(1959) as the expectation held by the individual that his or her behaviour cannot determine the outcome that he or she seeks in the organization. There is a growing body of literature on the concepts of alienation and industrial democracy. While Blauner (1964) perceived alienation as the consequence of technological and social change at work, Tannenbaum(1966) suggested worker participation in decision making as a way of avoiding alienation. Although Blauner(1964) suggested four indicators of alienation,viz.,isolation,meaninglessness, self-enstrangement and powerlessness,I am specifically concerned with powerlessness.Unlike Blauner(1964) powerlessness as it is used in this study,is not a consequence of the automation in industrial production.As argued here, powerlessness is neither a consequence of technologically driven production functions nor strictly the lack of participation by workers in decision making. Rather, powerlessness is a consequence of the marked contrast that exists between the rural conception of work and the reality of public employment. Simply put, powerlessness is the product of the relative perception between rural and urban patterns of work. The worker is disappointed when he realises that the wealth of experience gained in rural work is irrelevant to the requirements of urban employment. A worker's stay in a public job,for example, involves a constant sequence of orientations and re-orientations in which the worker must unlearn rural work norms and imbibe public work values. Despite the apparent conflict between these public work values and the rural work norms which constitute a worker's orientation, there is no visible attempt to adapt organizational procedures to the values that such workers

bring from the larger environment. This value discrepancy delimits a worker's contributions and arouses a feeling of powerlessness which invariably induce negative attitudes to the job. The worker withdraws from active involvement in his job into apathy and indifference, which in turn are reflective and indicative of his attitude. It is this withdrawal, resulting from the value incongruence in the work place, that I refer to as a primary symptom of powerlessness. The worker becomes withdrawn because he feels powerless to alter the features which produce the conflict in the organization.

BOREDOM

Boredom was chosen as an independent variable mainly because of the profound adaptation problem the worker experiences as a result of the alien characteristics of public organizations. The rigid characteristics of public organization converts a job that would otherwise have been challenging into mere drudgery. The worker is bored simply because he is not required to offer any suggestions to, or undertake any intitiative for the organization to which he supposedly belongs. Although monotonous work is likely to induce boredom, I argue that, boredom is largely a consequence of the characteristics of public organizations which inadvertently (or otherwise) preclude workers from active involvement in organizational matters. It is on this basis that I have argued that workers who are bored by such organizational circumstances would be negatively disposed to their work.

INDIVIDUAL VS SYSTEM BLAME

Individual vs system blame refers to the extent to which workers will blame themselves for any shortcomings encountered in the organization. Although organizational characteristics may stimulate attitudes in specific directions, individual workers may sometimes, wilfully, blame organizational structures for their own inadequacies. I decided to include this somewhat 'double edged' variable particularly to compare the frequencies with which private and public workers blamed the system for any difficulties encountered in the workplace. The assumption here is that, if public employees blamed the system more than their private counter parts, then it follows that private organizational structures are more amenable to the value orientation of their workers. It may also mean that the structure of private organization allowed workers to associate responsibility for certain decisions with particular persons (usually the initiators of such decisions) and, therefore, blame can be rightfully apportioned to those who initiated decisions that did not augur well for the organization.

SATISFACTION

The satisfaction scale was chosen because it follows logically from some of the previous explanatory variables. If a worker's needs are adequately met, he is fully adjusted and feels a sense of belonging in his organization, although the grass might still be greener elsewhere but,at that moment, the logical conclusion one can

arrive at is that the worker will be satisfied with his job. I assume, therefore, that job satisfaction is positively related to integration in the work group and identification with organizational objectives. Mumford(1972), for example, has indicated that the degree of fit that is achieved between the individual's needs and those of the organization will determine the level of worker satisfaction. Parker (1971),has similarly noted that to the extent that workers are given opportunities to create something,use skill, work wholeheartedly and work together, they would be satisfied. Having stated the rationale for the choice of each of the independent variables , I shall now examine the characteristic features of public and private organizations.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

I intend to specifically compare two sets of workers, those in public organizations and workers in the private sector. Government is the largest employer of labour in the country. The volume of manpower employed by the government has steadily increased over the years. While the public sector could only boast of 200,000 workers at independence in 1960, this figure had leaped to 3.7 million by 1983, representing about 65% of the total number of employees in the modern sector. The extent of this growth in public service manpower is equally attested by the fourth national development plan (1981-85) document. According to the latter, the public sector, which was defined as embracing the federal and state civil services, government corporations and companies (i.e.,parastatals) and the

teaching services, account for three fifths of the total estimated employment in the modern sector of the Nigerian economy. Within each state, however, the estimate is even higher (this may be due to casual workers who may be categorized as public employees in the states but may not necessarily be included in the calculation of the national estimate of public employees). The public sector accounts for approximately three quarters of the estimated modern sector employment in majority of the nineteen states of the federation. This implies that private companies, which are defined as profit oriented,acount for two fifths of the total modern sector employment in Nigeria. In most states of the federation, the private sector represents only about one quarter of the modern sector employment. Thus ,the majority of private organizations are small scale and employ relatively fewer persons than public establishments (see Sanda,A.The Nigerian Guardian,August 7, 1986). It is pertinent at this juncture to briefly examine the literature on the problems of bureaucracy in developing countries.

The development administration literature on the problems of third world bureaucracies covers a wide range of issues, viz., access, decentralization, participation,etc. Schaffer (1982b), for example, views the problem of third world bureaucracy as that of access and/or participation by those in the lower rungs of the ladder of social stratification. Over centralization is also generally identified as a problem and decentralization measures are frequently advocated to enhance the effectiveness of these bureaucracies(see Conyers,1981; Rondinelli,1983). The creation of regional governments

in the Sudan in 1980 is one such measure of decentralization (see Alassam,1982),while the reform measures adopted by Nigeria in 1976 to allow local government authorities greater autonomy is another indication of continued efforts aimed at bureaucratic decentralization (see Ibodje,1984). The emphasis on equity,quota (equal representation) rather than merit in the selection process of third world bureaucrats has also been highlighted as a problem (see Zafarullah and Khan,1983). Berg(1981) has attributed the pervasive inefficiency in third world bureaucracies to their cumbersomeness and has, accordingly ,recommended that these countries should expand their private sectors in order to stimulate the export of primary products. This recommendation has been dismissed as " ineffective, counterproductive and unfeasible (see Browne and Cummings, 1984). Following Berg(1981), the World Bank Report of 1983 emphasized the need for a more efficient public sector and production for export. According to the report,"the most successful countries have been outward oriented, and have also emphasized the role of prices and markets for improving efficiency as well as better management of the public sector, p.26." The report went further to highlight the connection between public inefficiency and a whole range of negative behavioural practices. " The puiblic sector is inefficient due to such causes as corruption,political demands,etc.p.46." Amongst others, Murray(1983) has questioned the assumptions underlying the case made in the report for the market as a versatile instrument of Administration. Murray's argument is that the connection between an increased growth rate and an expected improvement in the general standard of living is not always straightforward. Furthermore,

Murray(1983) highlighted the contradiction in emphasis between an earlier 1982 World Bank Report which concerned itself with the satisfaction of peoples' needs, and the 1983 report, which was aimed exclusively at increasing growth rates.Implicit in the report was a chastisement of developmment administration as an obstacle to development. As Murray(1983:296) aptly put it," Development administration which once was regarded as providing the instrument of intervention is now regarded as having created an obstacle to development." Luke(1984) has refered to the World Bank reports of 1981 and 1983 as technocratic solutions to third World public bureaucracies. Since public bureaucracies do not operate in a social and political vacuum the need to consider societal factors, according to him, is paramount. Luke(1984:184) in his concluding note, re-emphasized that "there is clearly a need for serious debate on the reform of African public bureaucracies and, most importantly on how such organizations can be accommodated within African political cultures without generating fiscal drains and operational and administrative inefficiencies."

While the shortcomings of third world bureaucracies are generally discussed in these broad terms,the present study is not particularly concerned with access to, participation in or decentralization of public organizations. This study unambiguosly aims to explain the factors that account for work attitudes in urban employment sectors. For example, when access has been gained to a bureaucratic organization what factors are likely to explain the attitudes that people have to their work. Similarly, why is it that those who

participate in running Nigerian public organizations merely pay lip service to the notion of job commitment or job involvement. Why is it that even when a public bureaucracy is decentralized to its most minuscle form (the local government authority), workers are still generally negatively disposed to their work. Public sector corruption is frequently mentioned in the body of the thesis because it is the product of negative attitudes.While it is relatively difficult to discern non-job committment, job dissatisfaction, etc.,(except by survey), corrupt practices such as the embezzlement of public fund, the taking of bribes,kickbacks,etc.,(all of which are operationally defined as products of negative attitudes in this thesis) are easily identifiable. Corrupt practices are ,therefore,frequently mentioned because they are bred by negative attitudes. The centrality of corruption to any discussion of Nigerian public sector is perhaps reflected in the volume of works that have been devoted to the theme of public corruption in Nigeria over the years (see Aina,1982;Ngu,1985). Government's concern for the deplorable plight of Nigerian public organizations is also reflected in the volume of reform measures that have been devised to tackle this problem. Bent on altering the pervasive attitude to public work,the then Head of State (1975), Major General Murtala Mohammed dismissed all 12 military governors and most federal and state governors. Within a year, more than 10,000 civil servants including high level administrative officers were dismissed (see Dent,1978,p.119) on grounds of corruption, inefficiency,disloyalty or declining productivity (see Campbell,1978;Bennet and Kirk-Greene,1978).

The persistence of negative work attitudes and the consequent inability on the part of many public organizations to meet set targets, provoked a'scholarly' controversy which concerned itself with attempting to ascribe responsibility for the dismal state of public enterprises. While Frank (1971:116)indicated that"the basic cause of lack of success of public enterprises was poor management and administration (also see Ajuogu,1982)," Teriba(1978) blamed 'excessive' intervention by government in public bureaucracies as a major cause of the failures of public enterprises. In his contribution to the debate, McHenry(1984:273) indicated that "management may be imperfect but even a perfect management could not make many public corporations successful given the constraints imposed by the government. The conclusion that governments 'kill' their own public organizations may seem harsh, but it is probably true." This debate did not lead to any appreciable change in public accountability or work attitudes. While commenting on the effects of the mass purge of public servants which was masterminded by Major General Murtala Mohammed, Adamolekun (1978b:325) concluded that "the balance sheet of all these measures suggests that no qualitative change has occured in the behaviour and performance of the public servants." Similarly, Koehn(1983:21) has noted that "the sweeping purge and the new institutions introduced by Murtala/Obasanjo administration also have had no discernible beneficial long-term impact on bureaucratic performance(also see Williams and Turner,1978). Anise (1980:25) and Palmer-Jones(1980:2) have noted that "increases in bureaucratic size, power and pecuniary rewards have not been accompanied by noticeable improvements in the

performance of public servants or gains in public productivity." Public concern for the widespread negative attitudes to public work, infrastructure,etc., is more apparent from the measures adopted by the Obasanjo regime to check bureucratic excesses,e.g.,the promulgation of a code of conduct for public officers; the setting - up of special tribunals to deal with allegations of corruption,maladministration;the establishment of the Public Complaints Commission, a permanent corrupt practices investigation bureau ,Ombudsman, public accounts committee and legislative investigation committees (see Koehn,1983).In spite of these measures, public work attitudes have generally remained negative (see Adedeji, 1981,p.805;Ayida,1979). Even the decentralization of the Nigerian bureaucracy which was aimed at stimulating greater worker involvement at the grassroots level of local government, also failed to achieve the intended objective (see Ibodje,1984). It is against this backdrop of persistent negative attitudes to public work that I have decided to examine societal factors in order to facilitate our understanding of the problem. Societal values tend to influence public work attitudes in some determinable ways.Since the values implicit in public organizations are different from and sometimes contradict with those in the larger society, I have argued that workers experiencing this value discrepant position are likely to be negatively disposed to their work. Since public organizational structures (unlike private ones) are particularly unadaptive to the value orientations of these workers, I have further argued that public workers were more likely (than private ones) to express negative attitudes to a range of issues concerning

their jobs. Simon (1949) first highlighted the difference in the pattern of management between the private and public sectors. Simon argued that the difference between the paramount values in both sectors also accounted for the difference in the pattern of management . Conversely, Murray(1975:364) has argued that " while there are important distinctions to be made, managements in the private and public sectors are more similar than different." Similarly, Levitt(1973:28) has argued that"the culture of private bureaucracies is basically the same as that of public bureaucracies. The desire for personal power and security is the same, responsiveness to outside presssure is the same. In short, once general priorities are established, private and public bureaucracies operate about the same." In contrast to Levitt's argument, Nigerian public and private organizations differ substantially. The thrust of my argument is that contrasting cultures exist between the wider Nigerian society and urban employment sectors. Within the urban sector, while public organizational structures tend to be transfixed and unaccommodative of societal values, private organizations relatively adapt their structures to societal values. Thus, the persistence of negative attitudes to public work is largely attributable to public organizational structures that are, by definition, rigid.

The decision to compare these workers was partly based on some antecedent historical factors which, I assume, will stimulate different work attitudes in these sectors . Government establishments were initially set up to facilitate colonial

activities. Having been established by colonialists, it was only natural for these organizations to be patterned acording to those existing in England. The Nigerian bureaucracy, exotic in structure and nomenclature, in spite of tremendous societal changes remained unchanged, twenty-seven years after independence. It is on this premise that I argue that the conflict between implicit organizational values(which are alien)and workers'values (which are indigenous) are bound to produce negative work attitudes in bureaucratic settings. A typical public organization may possess the following characteristics; distinct hierarchy of positions, formalized rules and procedures,centralized decision-making ,etc. Mpanugo (1983:107),for example, has noted that:

> Management of public companies in Nigeria are over-centralized with attendant problems in the decision-making process.It would appear that a number of top management personnel are more interested in maintaining existing system and methods of operation than face the challenges of innovation.

The main point that needs to be made is that the characteristic over-centralization of public bureaucracies impairs the use of personal initiative. Organizational information is not necessarily a privilege of all workers. Generally, communication in the form of instructions flows from the apex to the base of the hierarchy, without a corresponding feedback loop from the base to the top of the hierachy; relationships within the work setting are impersonal;

incentive schemes are essentially focused on the immediate material needs of workers; unions in government establisments discuss little more than conditions of service which is nothing but a fine euphemism for money(see Otobo,1986). Other non-material factors (e.g., the values) which substatively constitute workers' orientations are disregarded. Extra-organizational interaction is scanty and often revolves around those from the same ethnic group,thereby deepening the characteristic inter-ethnic mistrust(see Arnold,1977;Breton and Wintrobe,1982).It is obvious ,therefore, that the characteristics of public organizations are antithetical to the rural organizational features discussed earlier. Government officials, either due to ignorance or nonchalance, have done very little by way of trying to incorporate indigenous values into public organizational structure. Government organizations have as a result remained detached from the wider societal milieu, preferring to uphold abstract organizational rules and procedures which have little or no practical significance for workers. To cite one illustrative example, the General Orders, a document which stipulates desirable conduct in government establishments was discussed in the following terms by the editorial opinion of the Punch newspaper.

> It is a matter for concern that after twenty-six years of nation-hood, Nigeria still regimented herself by a set of obnoxious regulations designed and formulated by her colonial masters for the purpose of their administrative convenience. The so-called General Orders were

> drawn up because the colonialists saw the average African civil servant as one who did not possess the intellectual ability to take important or even minor decisions on his own and had to make a set of rules which he had to follow. And today, Nigerian civil servants are still inexplicably tied to the umbilical cord of that document. Since he has no initiative of his own, actions which he could have taken in the interest of the nation are left untaken because the General Orders do not so direct.Unless the General Orders is reviewed and our public servants regarded as intelligent human beings,which they are, the nation would continue to suffer losses and deprivations which are direct results of our men's inability to use their own initiative(my underlining.see The Nigerian Punch,August,26,1986).

In addition to the specific organizational features mentioned above, there is a historic scepticism attached to public organizations. Having been introduced by the colonialists, these establishments were generally perceived as avenues through which the economic exploitation of the people could be facilitated. These public organizations became symbolic representations of THEM (the colonialists) with whom the natives were perpetually engaged in a cold war (Cohen,1980, has referred to this cold war as an indication

of class consciousness). This cold war was expressed in the work place in the form of reduced worker committment, inefficiency, corruption,etc. This condition of general apathy towards public work has persisted in spite of independence. Government employees are influenced in the workplace by rural values that are discordant with values associated with public organizations and this profound value conflict predisposes workers to attitudes that are negative.

By contrast, private organizations possess features which are relatively similar to rural organizations. Private organizations almost universally operate informal support groups which are specifically designed to cater for workers' extra-organizational obligations. The point should be made for comparative purposes that support groups were specifically banned in public organizations in 1976 during the regime of Major General Murtala Mohammed. Support groups were banned in the public sector because they were thought to undermine the authority of the formal structure of public organizations. I shall now briefly examine the literature on support groups within the context of private organizations.

SUPPORT GROUPS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The role of voluntary associations (what I prefer to call support groups) in the adjustment of a migrant to urban circumstances has received substantial attention in the literature on West African urbanization (see Peil,1981). Voluntary associations have been variously categorized as recreational,e.g., Aloba, 1954; political, e.g., Ofodile,1947; occupational,e.g.,Peil,1981;Comhaire-Sylvain,1950, etc. The underlying strand that seems to run through these classifications is the notion of mutual support that group members render to each other. These groups generally simulate the supportive roles played by traditional institutions such as the age grade, kinship or the extended family network. Village life revolved around the solidarity and co-operation that existed among these aforementioned groups. Ottenberg(1971), for example, has documented the co-operative nature of Ibo age-grade associations. Fafunwa(1974) has indicated that Fulani age-grade associations displayed a consistent tendency towards mutual support. Hill (1977) has also highlighted the supportive nature of Hausa kinship institutions. Evidence of the supportive nature of Yoruba kinship and extended family institutions abound in the works Lloyd (1953). Lloyd (1975:199), for example, has noted that "there is little objection to wealth, even if it is gained through corruption, if at least some of it is widely shared. The holder does not cut himself off but has a wide circle of kin and clients." While describing how Yoruba(Ijesha) youths discharged their obligations to their fathers-in-law, Peel(1983) highlighted the solidary nature of

Ijesha age-grades.According to him,"a fair proportion of the labour-time of a young adult, resident under his father's roof, would be given to his prospective father-in-law. Young men organized collective work parties among themselves (ebese) to help one another discharge these obligations(see p.49.)" The supportive roles of Islamic religious institutions such as Brotherhoods and Koranic schools have also been highlighted (see Paden,1974;Isichei, 1983; Lubeck,1981;Last,1967). While expatiating on the supportive tendencies of Hausa villages Shenton and Watts (1979:56), for example, have noted that "patterns of redistribution and reciprocal gifts reinforced Hausa societies'ability to withstand crisis of food shortage.Exchange of gifts between social equals such as 'biki' reinforced a household's ability to meet specific consumption crisis. Communal workgroups or 'ganya' were often brought together to clear new land or to aid a household striken by illness and were important in maintaining the necessary level of food production(also see Wallace, 1978)." Thus, there is a general tendency among urban people to simulate these indigenous supportive groups to cushion them against urban environmental uncertainties. The importance of these support groups for the morale of the worker is documented by Peace(1979). Similarly, Peil(1981:231) has noted that "such groups or associations are often looked upon as sources of mutual aid and welfare (by their members). Trade unions in contrast have not attracted much interest from potential members except during wage negotiation." In these support groups "ethnicity proved to be a relatively unimportant indicator of membership (see Peil,1981,p.225).

Little(1957) has succintly summed up the reasons why a migrant in urban circumstances naturally yearns to belong to a support group. Acording to him,the newly arrived migrant from the rural area has been used to living and working as a member of a compact group of kinsmen and neighbours on a highly personal basis of relationship and mutuality. He knows of no other way of community living than this, and he naturally reacts in order to make a similar adjustment to urban conditions. Thus, a migrant coming into urban employment almost always wishes to belong to a support group. The migrant in public employment faces a dilemma because such support groups are banned in this sector. By contrast,support groups function without restriction in the private sector. However, it is important to note that, although support groups perform certain kinship roles, they are not necessarily kinship-based. Even when persons of the same ethnic group form a voluntary association, there is a general tendency for such an association to become ethnically heterogenous overtime (see Peace,1979;Peil;1981). Membership of an informal support group usually consists of all those working in a specific organization who may or may not have kinship ties. In family ventures, obviously because of blood ties, support group activities are usually more affectionate and compassionate than the activities of support groups which are based in non-family ventures. Support groups are at the same time multi-purpose in nature. These groups attempt to meet the non-material needs of workers. In the event of a birth,death or marriage of a work mate's relative this group provides a sort of non-material cushion. They help with the arrangements and fully

participate in all aspects of such ceremonies. The important point to note is that paramount values among support group members tend to be incorporated into private organizational structures and this has a positive effect on work attitudes in this sector.

A typical private organizations may thus, possess the following features. A relatively flexible hierachy of positions. The organizational structure is flexible and particularly responsive to the value orientations of workers. In this regard, organizational rules continually change in the light of better suggestions from workers (irrespective of status in the organizational hierarchy). It is also a standard practice in this sector to entrust responsibility to officers in the lower echelons of the organizational hierarchy. For example, the managing director of a private company may delegate responsibility to a supervisor(or any officer of a lower rank),who may in turn rely on rank and file suggestions in running the organization. This is one crucial way of encouraging workers' initiatives in this sector. It should also be emphasized that work relationships tend to be more personal in the private sector. Information is not a prerogative of an excluisive hierarchy within the organization. There is a two-way communication channel:first, instructions descend from the top to the bottom and,second, feedback on such instructions ascends from the bottom and it is customary to modify initial instructions on the basis of the feedback from the rank and file. Extra-organizational interaction is high due to support groups which are especially concerned with workers' non-material extra-organizational

obligations . Because private organizations possess features which are amenable to the values which workers bring from the wider environment, my hypothesis is that workers here will be predisposed to positive work attitudes. The important point that needs to be re-emphasized is that workers tend to be positively disposed to private work because private organizations adopt some (not all)of the values that these workers bring from the wider environment. There is some form of congruence between private organizational values and those values that have been acquired by the worker at various times in the wider society. Thus, relative to public organizations, the private ones are more likely to induce positive attitudes in workers. A corollary argument to the one above is that private entrepreneurship is burgeoning at the moment because Nigerians prefer an organizational situation in which they can give full expression to African values which emphasize support and co-operation. I shall now briefly examine the entrepreneur in Nigeria.

THE NIGERIAN ENTREPRENEUR

The general inclination of Nigerians towards self employment and the consequent proliferation of private enterprises has given rise to a vast literature around the theme of the Nigerian entrepreneur. Scholars have highlighted numerous entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria, e.g.,mechanic workshops, Peace,1979; saw mills,Harris and Rowe,1966; fruit preservation,Katzin,1964; printing press, Harris,1968,etc. The listing of constraining factors on

entrepreneurial success appears to be the discernible trend among majority of scholars (see Akeredolu-Ale,1975;Chuta,1983;Schatz and Edokpayi,1962;Odufalu,1971). The reasons advanced by these people for actually branching into entrepreneurial activities is generally taken for granted and given less attention. Since the literature regarding the latter point is evidently scanty, one argument that can be readily adduced for the proliferation of indigenous entrepreneurship is the extensive latitude which these ventures allow for cultural values and economic principles to mix. Thus, while some scholars (e.g.,Chuta,1983) may argue that the profit margin of the Nigerian entrepreneur is limited because he is hesitant to take risks, the Nigerian entrepreneur may not necessarily regard his profit as scanty because, to him, profit is not strictly calculable in monetary terms. Help that is rendered to less advantaged kinsmen is equally perceived as profitable. The fulfilment of non-material obligations to kinsmen and members of one's extended family may seem unimportant to the outsider but, to the successful entrepreneur, these are vital coefficients in the calculation of profit margins (see Peace, 1979). Thus, why academic analysts may regard the successful entrepreneur as that who has undertaken many risks that have translated into financial gains, the yardstick that is usually adopted by the entrepreneur to measure success is different .Underlying the profit motive of private enterprises is, usually, a strong social desire to support kinsmen and extended family members. While tracing the genesis of private entrepreneurship, Ahwhireng-Obeng(1984:377), for example, indicated that "in the areas of house and canoe building, men

teamed up into work groups to work for one another in turn for the fulfilment of specific obligations. Such informal indigenous associations ,though sometimes narrow in their objectives had the scope to embody or adapt to the broader principles and goals of self-help." Peace(1979) discovered that the Ikeja industrial workers generally had a desire to become entrepreneurs because, according to him, industrial employment did not give them sufficient independence to exercise personal initiative in task related matters. Using the supportive nature of their extra-organizational groups as a reference these workers evaluated their factory work as 'exploitative'. Thus self-employment which enabled these workers to use their 'talents'was generally perceived as a clean-break from the constraining organizational reality of factory work. As Peace(1979:51) rightly noted,"Yoruba culture places a strong emphasis on sociability. The self-employed man by the very nature of his work has infinite opportunities to exercise his talents in this direction." Lubeck's (1981) study of Hausa factory workers in Kano also came to a similar conclusion. According to him, the general ambition of Kano workers was to quit 'Aiken Bature' (European employment) because its characteristic 'heavy supervision'was believed to constrain personal initiative. These workers, therefore, preferred and even looked forward to menial, less-paying jobs such as cart-pushing which, in their accounts, enabled them to exercise personal initiative. The value conflict experienced by industrial workers in other West African countries has also been highlighted. Peil(1972),in her study of the Ghanaian Factory Worker, noted that problems emanating from value-confict

and adaptation were persistent. The value conflict experienced by Ghanaian workers in their workplace compelled these workers to despise industrial employment and to increasingly opt for self employment because, according to them, "traditional values can be maintained in self-employment (see Peil,1972:91)." Thus, the increase in private entrepreneurship is explicable in terms of the extensive latitude which these ventures afforded their owners to give full expression to African values which emphasized co-operation and mutual help. As Ahwireng-Obeng(1984:376) rightly noted,"the practice of communalism and private entrepreneurship have co-existed among rural communities,characteristically involving the traditions of mutual help and communal labour in both community and private economic activities."

It should be stated from the outset that the distinction I make between private and public organizations is basically in terms of their structural features and how these may influence positive and negative attitudes. In particular, it is not a question simply of ownership (public or private) but of a whole range of organizational characteristics which have coalesced along this sectoral divide. Although it is a platitude that most public organizations are large scale and most private organizations are comparatively small scale, and that public organizations preferentially locate in urban centres, geographical location (urban or rural) and size are only tangential to the theme of this thesis. Irrespective of place of location and size, the argument here advanced is that the structural features of a public

organization, because they are inflexible and unadaptive to the value orientations of workers, are more likely to invoke negative attitudes to the job. This argument may not necessarily be valid in a country with a different historical background. The sectoral dualism and the sharp contrast between rural and urban organizational values stem partly from the particular historical legacy bequeathed to the country by her erstwhile colonial masters.Thus, there is bound to be differences in hypotheses relating to work attitudes (between private and public workers) across countries.

There was a religious uprising in Yola in 1983, two years before the data for this study was gathered. The 'Maitatsihne riot' as it came to be known was generally a reaction against the pervasive materialism in Islamdom. The riot (according to those who participated) was to halt the trend whereby Islamic principles were generally flaunted in the pursuit of material wealth. While the riot did not particularly affect the results of this study, it should be pointed out that the staff of Federal University of Technology,Yola together with members of other Muslim and non-Muslim organizations made generous donations to support and to facilitate the rehabilitation of those who were made homeless by the religious disturbances.

It is also pertinent at this stage to highlight a few points about the representativeness of the sample that was chosen for this study. The University, the Ministry of Works and the Steel Company

are quite representative of the Public sector (these are the largest employers in the public service structure,see the Second National Development Plan document,1981-85). Similarly, the Neil Gobe Bakery, the Mechanic Workshop and the Faro Bottling Company are representative of the companies in the private sector.Bakeries are listed under schedule 2 of the indigenization decree as one of those businesses that are specifically reserved for Nigerians. Bakeries exist in most cities of the federation. Bottling companies are generally regarded as import substitution companies (under the new government's policy to be less dependent on external economies) and they are also ubiquitous in the private sector. Mechanic workshops are equally important in the private sector because they cater to the (mobility) needs of the elite section of the Nigerian society by constantly servicing their vehicles.Thus, although they belong to the lower rungs of the ladder of social stratification, the valuable trade of these mechanics brings them in close contact with 'the cream of society'(the elite).

It is also important to note that the sample was ethnically heterogenous. The public organizations that were investigated,viz.,the Federal University of Technology,Yola, the Federal Ministry of Works,Yola and the Delta Steel Company, Warri were all federally funded public organizations which were by articles 14(3,4), 135(3), 157, 175(2), 188(4) of the Nigerian constitution compelled to ensure that all ethnic groups were represented in order to promote national unity. As Koehn(1983:9) rightly noted, "the Federal Government of Nigeria insisted that

there should be no prerdominance of persons from states or from a few ethnic groups in any of its agencies (also see Oyovbaire,1980). Thus, the management of most federally funded organizations ensured that most ethnic groups were represented almost in proportion to what obtained in the larger society.

The private organizations were also ethnically heterogenous. The Neil Gobe Bakery,for example,comprised workers from as far South as Onitsha in the South-Eastern area of the country . Some workers also came from Ibadan in the South Western part of the country. The other workers were largely from the Middle Belt as well as other Northern parts of the country. The workers in this bakery were predominantly Muslims belonging to a diversity of ethnic groups such as the Mumuye, Kilba, Bachaman,etc.,who commonly spoke the Hausa language (the lingua franca in these parts of the country). The Faro Botling Company also consisted of workers from various ethnic groups and because of its multinational connection, it also had Italians in its employment. The Mechanic workshop was unique in the sense that it existed in a coalitional context which, according to Marret(1971:90)" is a context in which organizations co-operate but there is no single authority structure." It should be noted that the Mechanic workshop was not the brainchild of a co-operative society and that mutual help was not the initial basis for its establishment. The Mechanic workshop is not an extended family venture that was purposively set up to extend family co-operation into the realm of business. This workshop was set up by a group of independent ethnically heterogenous tradesmen. The land on which

the workshop stands is public land (owned by the government). Rather than being the initial objective, group co-operation only came as a by product of their physical proximity to each other. Consistent with Marret's (1971:85) comment with respect to interorganizational relations,"the emphasis on co-operation does not deny the existence of conflict or competition, it merely delimits concern to those areas in which joint efforts are made." The point should also be made that the sample drawn from the private organizations was representative of the main ethnic groups in Nigeria. I ensured that no major ethnic group constituted more than 20% of each sub sample and no minor ethnic group constituted more than 10% of each subsample.

In this study, organizational size is not considered as an important variable in the determination of work attitudes in urban employment sectors. Anise (1980), Palmer-Jones(1980) and Abdulkadir and Liman (1977) have similarly argued that increases in bureaucratic size have not been accompanied by noticeable improvements in the performance of civil servants. The lack of emphasis on organizational size as a critical variable in understanding work attitudes is reflected in the uniformity of the sub-samples irrespective of variations in the sizes of the organizations from which these samples were drawn. For example, the Federal University of Technolgy, Yola had a staff stregth of 220, the Federal Ministry of Works, Yola had a staff strength of 180 while the Deltal Steel Company, Warri had a staff strength of 4000 (thus the Delta Steel Company also served as a control on

organizational size as a variable in the determination of work attitudes).

I was interested in these particular public organizations because the government then (at the time the research idea was conceived) had sensitized almost everyone to the advantages to be gained from the Delta Steel Company (raw materials for local assembly of cars) and the Federal Universities of Technology (technological reserach centres), perhaps, as a justification for the huge sums of money invested in them. The Federal Ministry of Works was constantly in the news because it was then handling the low cost housing scheme which was intended to benefit the 'poor'people. The main question that stimulated this research was this:If workers in the public sector were generally considered to be negatively disposed to their work ,how would these new technological institutions inculcate positive attitudes in their workers to be able to realise the lofty ambition of technologically transforming the country? The answer to this question is this thesis.

I decided to investigate organizations in Yola because like Warri city, Yola is a relatively understudied area. Research on work behaviour in the northern parts of the country is disproportionately concentrated in Kano presumably because of its predominantly Hausa population (see Lubeck,1975,1981; Schildkrout, 1978a, 1981). In the Southern Nigeria similar studies on work behaviour are mostly carried out in Lagos (e.g.,Peace, 1975,1979; Waterman, 1978) or in Ibadan (e.g.,di Domenico,1973,1983). Another

factor that influenced my choice of organizations in Yola was the fact that Yola, unlike most northern cities, is ethnically heterogenous. It is true that the Fulani are the rulers but the Fulani are a minority. It is equally true that the Hausa language is the lingua franca in this area but the Hausa peoples are a minority mostly migrants from traditional, Hausa cities such as Kano ,Katsina,etc. Yola is thus a melting pot for people from various ethnic groups across the country. Gongola State (with Yola as its capital) is made up of about 50 different ethnic groups, each with its distinct language (although Hausa is commonly understood and spoken). The state is also one of the few northern states where some people are 'traditionally' christians. Thus, it should be reiterated that Yola is not an Hausa city.The common bond among these people is perhaps the Muslim religion.

This study will thus, hopefully illuminate the root of negative work attitudes in public organizations. The result of our findings may highlight the significance of workers value contingencies in attempting to induce positive work attitudes. The argument is not that government should adapt all organizational rules to the work norms operating in the wider society, but that it may help kindle positive work attitudes if government adapts some of its policies to the values that workers bring from the wider society. This may in due course lead to the convergence of workers' and organizational objectives and thus increase organizational productivity. Guest and Fatchett(1974), for example,have noted that drawing on workers' values will heighten motivation and increase

organizational efficiency. This suggested relationship between "motivation and increased organizational efficiency" has also been demonstrated by Lammers(1967:210).

Finally, it is hoped that this study will sensitize policy makers to the possibility that work attitudes are better understood by looking not only at work related factors but at the values that workers bring from the larger environment (see Silverman,1970;Blood and Hulin,1967;Turner and Lawrence,1966). Previous Nigerian research on work attitudes have mainly examined work related factors, a perspective which I consider sociologically inadequate. To give an illustrative example, while the author was a student at the Univerity of Ibadan, Nigeria he assisted in a study which was carried out by Prof.Ugwegbu in 1977 to examine work attitudes in the Nigerian Railway Corporation, Ibadan. The determination of work attitudes in this study was mainly based on work related factors, such as:the challenges the job offered,the amount of cordiality that existed between management and workers, the allowances paid to workers for various out-of -station jobs, etc. These work related factors merely represent the tip of the iceberg in the determination of work attitudes. The actual iceberg is the interaction of these work related factors with the orientations these workers bring from the larger environment. This latter proposal is a more sociologically adequate design for understanding work attitudes.

This study is original in tracing antecedent social factors which

may account for the state of contemporary work attitudes. The study is also multi-disciplinary. I have delved into disciplines as diverse as political science, history, anthropology, psychology and sociology in attempting to understand the attitudes of Nigerians to work. Before undertaking to present the detailed results of my research, I shall in the next chapter examine the value-conflict model that I have adopted for this study, in order to illuminate the ancestry and development of the forms of work organizations and orientations which, I argue, still carry considerable significance for understanding contemporary work attitudes.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE VALUE-CONFLICT MODEL OF CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN WORK ATTITUDES.

This chapter is central to the theme of this thesis mainly because it explains the value model that I have adopted for explaining contemporary work attitudes in Nigeria. While previous Nigerian organizational studies have mainly explained work behaviour, e.g.,strike action (see Peace, 1979), in terms of (Marx's)class deprivation , I have chosen an alternative framework of understanding, namely,a value-conflict model. This model explains work attitudes by examining the value configurations that workers bring from the larger environment. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the geographical features of Nigeria. It gives a brief historical account of the indigenous as well as contemporary forms of government adopted by the three major ethnic groups,viz.,Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba. This background information is meant to familiarize the reader with some of the cultural/religious institutions from which workers learn the values which influence them in urban employment circumstances.The argument is made that, in spite of ethnic and linguistic variations,the values which derive from these cultural/religious institutions tend to coalesce around a common theme of co-operation both at work and in leisure. Correspondingly,the persistence of negative work attitudes in public organizations is explained as a consequence of the conflict between these common (i.e.,pan-ethnic) indigenous values and those implicit in public organizational

structures. A section of this chapter is devoted to an examination of the status of the Nigerian woman within the context of paid employment . Migration is also examined to show how indigenous values are continually reinforced among urban migrants. Finally,the reason(s) for the prevalence of ethnicity in public organizations is discussed.

Nigeria contains an area of 357,000 sq.miles (924000 sq.km), sprawling from the gulf of Guinea to about 14 degrees north. This gigantic land area makes the country four times the size of Great Britain. The population is estimated to be over 5 times greater, according to Burns(1972), than that of Australia, Canada and New Zealand combined and much greater than that of any other state in Africa. There is controversy about the exact population of Nigeria. Although,1963 census figures indicate a population of 55,663,821, there is controversy as to the proportion of this population that is rural and the proportion that is urban (see Mabogunje,1968). Following the census of 1952, in which urban centres were delineated as places having 5000 or more people, 81% of Nigerian population was then regarded as rural. The official estimate of Nigerian population for the mid 1980s is 84.7 million. This is the result of an annual growth rate of 2.5 percent for the 1963 population figure. The labour force defined as persons between the ages of 15 and 55 who are economically active or wished to be,was estimated at 29.22 mill ion in 1975. The same estimate stated the number of wage earners to be,a meagre,2.18 million. These include 1.5 million in the modern sector of enumerated employment, roughly

one million in various forms of public employment and half a million in private business. While the 28 million in gainful employment were disproportionately concentrated in agriculture, the 2.18 million wage and salary earners were mainly in services like public administration, teaching ,manufacturing, construction and distributive trade (see Third National Development Plan 1975-80). It should be noted that although the percentage of workers in the modern sector is small, this sector has effectively remained the forerunner of social change and development in the country. As a developing country, all development projects (e.g.,comprehensive electrification schemes, road construction, establishment of schools,hospitals,provision of pipe borne water, etc.) are exclusively carried out under contracts to the government. Therefore, the commitment of these workers to their jobs is essential if government is to accomplish these projects. It is in this respect that an understanding of workers orientation (the kernel of this thesis) is essential. Such an understanding will make it easy to influence work attitudes in a positive direction in order to accomplish set targets for various projects within the context of overall national development.

A case for the value model adopted for this thesis as well as a clarification of the main thrust of my argument is crucial at this stage. I intend to examine continuing forms of socio-political organizations among the Hausa, the Ibo and the Yoruba(the three major ethnic groups of Nigeria). My aim is to,first, identify cultural/religious institutions and then extrapolate common values

which, I argue, have had enduring influences in the determination of work attitudes in urban employment. Some of these values (which I generally refer to as supportive) have been discussed in the preceding chapter but I intend to examine them further within the context of indigenous political forms. I have specifically avoided the periodization of the political history of the three main ethnic groups for the simple reason that the cultural/religious institutions and the values about which I speak have existed since well before the European colonial period. The coming of the European is only an "episode"(see Ajayi,1969:497) which may have affected but did not suppress or undermine these values. As Bascom(1962:3) rightly noted,"there is no African culture which has not been affected in some way by European contact, and there is none which has entirely given way before it." While making a case against the periodization of history, Peel(1983:4), for example, indicated that "actual societies do not require to be periodized because useful types of cultural elements cross cut in all kinds of way that cannot be theoretically predetermined." The dearth of books that are specifically addressed to Nigerian values is a major problem which confronts a researcher who is interested in this area.While highlighting the problem of the dearth of books on even the 'overstudied' Yoruba people, Peel(1983:8) ,for example,noted that :

> It is an odd circumstance that this large body of literature (Yoruba ethnography),touching so many many different institutions and communities, does not include any single work

> of substantial length, whether a monograph or group of articles, which presents an account of the social structure and culture of any one Yoruba community with the detail and in the holistic way considered characteristic of social anthropology.

One way by which I have tried to circumvent the problem of lack of work on Nigerian values is to identify cultural/religious institutions and then extrapolate values which recur in daily interactions within specific institutional frameworks.

A great deal of ethnographic information available to us points to the distinctiveness of the cultural heritages and status mobility systems of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria (the Ibo,the Hausa and the Yoruba). The tendency towards coalescence of the core values of these separate ethnic groupings has,almost without exception, been under-emphasized. Adherence to the artificial boundaries of academic specialisms is one probable reason for the lack of emphasis on the cultural similarities among the various ethnic groups. Rigid academic specialisms have generally beeen blamed for the perpetration of ethnic consciousness among Nigerians. Obayemi(1973:9),for example,lamented that :

> It remains a sad experience that the Nigerian peoples have often been made to appear as if they are culturally and historically distinct from one another. One factor which has led to

> the propagation of this myth, besides the linguuistic differences is the work of the anthropologists in their traditional propensity for tribal monographs. Nadel's Nupe,Bradbury's Edo, Bostons' Igala, Meek's Jukun or his Igbo, Forde's Yako, Harris' Mbembe,Lloyd's Yoruba,etc.,all appear to have so little in common that they have helped to perpetuate the mentality of tribal compartments (also see Isichei:1983:4).

A prominent historian of Northern Nigerian origin has also echoed this line of argument. Bala Usman, for example, has noted that:

> In the context of Nigerian cultural history it has never been clear to me what the citizen of Benin city has, besides the Edo language, that makes him culturally closer to the village of Etsako than to the citizen of Ijebu, Oyo-Ile, Idah, Kano or Ngazargamo (reproduced in Isichei,1983:3).

The point is driven home more vividly by Nadel (1972:16)[first edition 1942] with reference to the Nupe:

> You ask a Nupe man what all Nupe have in common. He will as a rule , enumerate the same few traits. All Nupe he will say have the age grade associations, all Nupe have the Gunnu cults....The age grade associations are common

> both to Nupe and Hausa. The rank system is common all over Northern Nigeria. The Gunnu cult exists also among Gbari, Gara, Basa,Basa-kom.

While pointing to underlying similarities among Nigerian ethnic groups, Isichei (1983:3) indicated that:

> The more one studies the structures and attitudes of traditional Nigerian societies the more one is struck by their profound similarities.

The similarity of cultural values among Nigerian ethnic groups does not diminish the fact that ethnic identity is crucial in terms of political consciousness among Nigerians (see Sklar,1963). It is only that ethnicity is less significant in terms of the basic cultural/religious values that are germane to the theme of this thesis. For reasons that will be explained later, ethnic factors play more crucial roles in public organizations than in private organizations (see Omogbehin,1985). The point that needs to be re-emphasized for the purpose of this section is that, although Nigeria may comprise a multiplicity of ethnic groups,there are certain vital cultural traits common to these varying linguistic and ethnic entities. The key cultural institutions (common to these varying ethnic groups) from which these values are derived are the age-grade organizations, the extended family institution and more broadly, kinship relations.

The importance of the age grade organization as a vital instrument of community mobilization among the Ibo and Ibibio- speaking as well as the Delta peoples of Nigeria have been highlighted by many scholars (see Forde and Jones,1950; Green,1964;Flint, 1964; Uchendu,1965; Ottenberg,1971;Onwubu,1975). The existence of similar age grade organizations in other parts of Nigeria have also been highlighted. Bradbury(1957:32),for example, has indicated the existence of such groups among the Binis. These groups ,according to him, "ranged from the simple iroghae (the youth), through Ighele (the adults) to the edion (the elders)" (also see Egharevba,1960). Among the indigenous Yoruba, Obayemi(1976:207) has specifically noted that age grade organizations were widespread and that "the junior ones among them were assigned executive functions in community project. The recognition of age as a vital resource in organizational matters among the Yoruba is also highlighted by Akinjogbin(1976). The importance of the age grade as an educational institution among the Hausa and Fulani peolpes has also been highlighted by Fafunwa(1974). It is important at this juncture to highlight the significance of the age grade as a form of social organization. Age grade organizations generally embrace those who fall within the same age range (age range may differ from community to community). These are task groups which execute various projects within their respective communities. Age grades are particularly important for the purpose of this thesis because the values underlying the method they generally adopt to discharge their responsibilities differ from those implicit in urban organizational structures.While age grade organizations emphasize mutal or co-

operative effort in the discharge of community responsibilities, public organizations apportion jobs strictly on individual basis. While age is accorded respect in age grade organizations, educational qualification rather than age is respected in public organizations. While members of an age grade organization are generally obliged to support each other especially at the time of need (see Peel,1983, for a discussion of how age grade members in Ijesha helped each other to discharge the responsibilities they owed to their fathers-in-law), workers in the same public organization are not obliged to support one another. Thus, a co-operative work orientation is learned from these age grade organizations. This orientation derives largely from the mode of execution of community tasks. The worker experiences value conflict in the objective condition of urban employment because dissimilar values are emphasized in public organization (e.g.emphasis on individualism, competition in the workplace, lack of opportunity to employ personal initiative, etc.).

Similarly, the social security role of the Nigerian extended family institution has been highlighted by Isichei,1983;Fapohunda,1978; Ayandele, 1966). The need to maintain kinship ties among the Hausa has been noted by Nadel,1972; Hill,1977. The importance attached to the fulfilment of kinship obligations among the Yoruba has also been documented in the literature (see Peace,1979; Peel, 1983; Lloyd,1953,1962; Peil,1981). It is important to note also that,in addition to the values which are derived from these cultural institutions, the Hausa are also influenced by a set of values

which are supportive but are derived largely from religious institutions such as Koranic schools and Brotherhoods. The companionship role of Brotherhoods in the life of a Muslim has been highlighted by Paden,1974; Lubeck,1981; Isichei, 1983. The tendency for Muslims to group themselves under a mallam (an Islamic teacher)for prayer, study and other group activities has also been highlighted (see Cohen, 1969; Schildkrout in Cohen, 1974, Schildkrout,1983; Lubeck, 1975, 1981; Peil,1981). Bearing in mind the common values that exist among these various groups, Grove (1979:183), for example, has generalized and ,very rightly too, that:

> The unit of social organization is the family, not just a man , his wife and children but the extended family embracing three or four generations and including cousins. The lineage,the group tracing its descent back through three or four more generations,retains its cohesion, and people who belong to the same clan with a common ancestor,say, ten generations back,recognize certain ties and in some circumstances may act in concert. The membership of these clans is thought of as including the dead as well as the living.

Thus, the thrust of my argument is that, although there are linguistic differences among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria, there is an evident tendency towards cultural convergence because

paramount values among the various groups aim at achieving a common objective i.e.,a sense of community. There is a general belief that this sense of community can only be achieved through mutal support or co-operative effort. In attempting to achieve this sense of community, the aforementioned institutions (the age grade organization, the extended family institution and to a greater extent in the northern parts of the country, Koranic schools, Islamic Brotherhoods,etc.) important socialization agencies have come to be generally regarded as significant referents for evaluating the objective reality of urban employment .Before proceeding to examine the indigenous socio-political organizations of the three major ethnic groups, it is important to reiterate the point that linguistic as well as socio-political differences exist among these groups but,that the cultural and religious values embedded in core institutions within these groups coalesce under a unifying theme, i.e.,the need to achieve a" sense of community"(see Mitchell(1961:282). As Hodgkin(1956:42) rightly noted "although the notion of being a Nigerian is a new concept, it would seem that the notion of being a Yoruba or Hausa is not very much older." The similarity in cultural traits may have provided the basis for the classification of the Edo, the Yoruba, the Idoma, the Igala,the Ebira, the Gbari and the Ibo under the Kwa group of languages (see Obayemi, 1976:201; Isichei, 1983:8).

THE YORUBA

Yoruba scholars are consistent in their mythological accounts of

the origin of the Yoruba peoples. One version of this myth of origin is that the father of the Yoruba peoples, Oduduwa, descended from heaven in miraculous circumstances and landed first in Ile-Ife (now generally regarded as the cradle of the Yoruba civilization, see Ademakinwa,1953) and then broadened out to annex the villages which today constitute Yorubaland (see Obayemi,1976; Akinjogbin,1976;Johnson,1921; Biobaku,1955). The second version of the myth of origin is that the Yoruba peoples migrated from North-East Africa (see Johnson, 1921;Fasuyi, 1973). While it is customary among scholars in this area to provide both versions of the origin story,the unscientificness of the first version delimits its usefulness. Cultural dissimilarities between North Africans and Yoruba peoples have also led to a closer scrutiny or even scepticism about the authenticity of the second version of the origin story. What is important for the purpose of this thesis,however, is that the Yoruba peoples established a form of socio-political organization in an area which later comprised part of present-day Nigeria. The main argument in this section is that the values around which the Yoruba peoples built their socio-political institutuions have survived in various forms (see, Peil,1981:p.10 and Skinner,1974,p.447) and that these values which are largely derived from a welter of social networks such as the extended family institution,age -grade organizations,voluntary associations,etc.tend to influence their attitudes in the objective conditions of urban employment. In his study of indigenous Yoruba peoples, Obayemi(1976:207) indicated that :

> There is more or less well defined office of

> leadership. Candidates for leadership are expected to have come through the age grades. Kingship was vested in widespread dynastic lineages with succession rotating in a more or less regular manner between their branches(also see p.256).

Thus pre-colonial Yoruba socio-political institutions emphasized active involvement in the activities of age-grade organizations as a precondition for leadership positions.Leadership positions were rotated among dynastic lineages. The Kings and their chiefs exercised a traditional form of authority i.e., authority legimated,in the Weberian sense, by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules and powers (Weber,1968). As Aldrich (1979:8), has also noted that "legitimization of traditional authority stems from the belief in the inviolable nature of every day routine and the unchanging past. People obey out of respect for the ruler's traditional status and the belief that tradition is the best guide for behaviour". Whether all the kingdoms that make up present-day Yorubaland are effectively united under a single sovereign is doubtful but the Alafin of Oyo could be considered as their traditional sovereign because, till this day, at the time of the Bere festival all other Yoruba kings pay homage to the Alafin (see Sudarkasa,1973). At the height of its glory, the Kingdom of Oyo was the most extensive among the kingdoms of the forest (see Akpofure and Crowder,1966). It is important to examine the Yoruba political structure in order to highlight the recognition that was generally

accorded cultural institutions such as the age grade, the extended family and broader kinship relations in their government. Although, Yoruba socio-political institutions have experienced some changes, the general pattern in all of Yorubaland (e.g.,Oyo,Ile-Ife,Egba,etc.) remains that of constitutional monarchy. The Oyo political administration,for example, is an elaborate and complex system of checks and balances (see Fage, 1962) which tends to revolve around the king, and his administration usually made up of a hierarchy of lineage chiefs, priests,military leaders,lieutenants and judges. Thus, as Lloyd (1962:48)put it"there did not exist any judiciary which was independent of the administration." These constitutional monarchies were largely made up of overlapping family lineages and clan units (see Biobaku,1955;Lloyd,1962). The Oba (King) was both the political and spiritual head of the government. As Lloyd (1962:38) noted" the paramount ruler in a Yoruba kingdom was not only the political sovereign but a sacred king upon whose ritual performance was thought to rest the well being of the people." The council of elders (or chiefs in council) advised the king on important state issues. These chiefs also had ritual prerogatives (see Lloyd,1962). The Are Ona Kakanfo,the minister for defence, was also the second in command to the king. Standing apart from these core of indigenous policy makers were the peasants and the educated elites [about whom Lloyd,(1966,1975) has consistently written] who traditionally paid tribute to the king and his following. This is how Yoruba society was socially differentiated. Similar forms of social differentiation have been observed among the Ijebus (another

Yoruba group) and the Binis (see Obayemi,1976:208). It should be highlighted that the values governing the peasantry are largely derived from aforementioned cultural institutions. These values generally emphasize the need to help one another in difficult periods. These people as Peel (1983) rightly noted, have a reputation for living in closely knit communities generally known as ilu . Within each community age grades perform a variety of tasks under a co-operative environment (see Obayemi, 1976). Farmers generally solicit the help of each other to clear the land, to sow the crops and to gather the harvests.The point needs to be highlighted that this co-operative spirit is not restricted to men alone. Yoruba women (generally regarded as traders,see Sudarkasa,1973) have extended this co-operative spirit to the realm of commerce. The pervasiveness of the susu, a credit society in Yoruba commercial life (see Omogbehin,1985), indicates the urge among Yoruba women traders to foster the spirit of co-operation.The organization of susu varies from locality to locality but two popular modes tend to recur. The first mode is that in which a group of women contribute (forthnightly or monthly) an agreed sum of money into a common till. Money is usually drawn from the till to assuage the problems(e.g the funeral expenses of members' relatives) that may confront group members. At the end of the year, the remaining amount is used to buy many yards of cloth (Dutch wax) which is shared out among group members. The second mode is that in which members take turn to collect what has been contributed by the group. In this latter case, every group member is given a number usually ranging from 1-12 (or more as the case may be). At the end

of the first month, number one on the list collects what has been contributed by the group. At the end of the second month number two on the list collects what has been contributed by the group. The group disbands when every member has collected their share. This form of susu is usually very popular with women who need additional money to invest in their trade. The point that needs to be reiterated is that Yoruba women have fostered this spirit of co-operation in the realm of commerce. Susu is a practical way of supporting one another in and outside of business.

What is important for the theme of this thesis is the extent to which these values which emanate from indigenous socio-political systems and which are embedded in social networks such as kinship (extended family institution), age-grade organizations, voluntary associations, etc.are vital in contemporary Nigerian urban employment sectors. Peace (1974:123) in his study of the Lagosian proletariat gave a clue of the significance attached to kinship ties and extended family relationships by urban workers. Specifically he indicated that:

> interdependence operates at a multiplicity of levels from the personal networks of permanently employed workers supporting their fortunate kinsmen to the broader inter strata level.

Similarly, it has been suggested that the social life of most West African towns is influenced by indigenous values because according

to Peil (1981:139), "migrants seldom cut themselves off from their families and kin." It should also be re-emphasized that Yoruba 'traditional'urban areas are governed by indigenous values. The pioneer of the work which highlighted Yoruba 'traditional' urbanism, Bascom (1965:376), himself acknowledged that the "Yoruba peoples migrated from adjoining villages"to swell the city of Ibadan." Even in the city of Ibadan these people were farmers and, presumably, employed age-old methods and implements for farming. By refering to them as traditional urbanites, Bascom (1965) unequivocally portrayed the rustic nature of these people. Agreed, their sheer size conformed with the standard index of urbanism developed in the U.S.,but,as Bascom(1965:376) himself noted, "the city of Ibadan was far less Westernized than Lagos"(see Bascom,1965:380). Peil(1981:11) has also indicated that "these towns that were shaped by indigenous urbanism had customary forms of authority." Church (1980:420) has equally highlighted the fact that the urbanization of Yoruba towns came about as a result of concentration " of farmers in protection towns by night "probably to scare away the marauding Fulani jihadists of the period.The point that is worthy of note, however, is that by sheer numerical size these are urban areas, but the values governing social relations in these towns are essentially rural and are not particularly different from those values that are to be found in Yoruba villages. As Mitchell (1961:281) rightly noted,"Yoruba towns are remarkable because their urbanization is indigeneous."

It is important at this juncture to summarize the main points that

have been made with respect to the Yoruba. Indigenous government among the Yoruba is characterized by a complex pattern of checks and balances (see Fage, 1962). Lineage chiefs and members of age grade organizations play crucial roles in Yoruba indigenous government. Generally, Yoruba cultural institutions such as the extended family, the age grades,etc., emphasize the need to support one another. This supportive spirit permeates almost all human endeavours in Yorubaland. Peasants, for example, seek the help of each other in planting and harvesting the crop(s). Yoruba women traders have remarkably extended this co-operative spirit into the realm of commerce. The pervasiveness of susu,a credit society among Yoruba women traders, is an indication of how these people have sucessfully infused co-operative values into the realm of business. Similarly, the extended family institution plays a supportive role in Yoruba society. As Fapohunda(1978) rightly noted, the extended family institution cushions these people against environmental uncertainty. The importance attached to the fulfilment of kinship obligations (among the Yoruba), such as the payment of tuition fees,etc., for distant relatives has also been highlighted by Peace (1979). Thus,a worker's needs are shaped by the obligations owed to kin and extended familiy members. Close contact with homepeople also strengthens indigenous work values which emphasize mutal co-operation. Because contrasting work values are emphasized in the migrant's place of work, he apparently, is in a dilemma which is often expressed in the form of negative work attitudes.

THE HAUSA STATES

The story surrounding the foundation of the Hausa states is fairly well known. This story revolves around a certain man named Bayajidda(see Crowder,1973;Isichei,1983). According to legend, Bayajidda (Abuyazidu), son of Abdulahi king of Baghdad journeyed to Borno after a feud with his father. His intention was to dethrone the Mai and establish his authority over Bornoland. The Mai had apprised Bayajidda's intentions and sought his friendship by giving his daughter in marriage and then isolated him (Bayajidda) from his followers by giving them chieftaincies in newly conquered towns. When he realised the intention of the Mai, Bayajidda fled leaving his wife at Biram where his first son was born. When he reached Daura, he killed a snake that had hitherto prevented the people from drawing water at the local well. As a result, the Queen of Daura took a liking to him and eventually married him. She bore him a son named Bawo.When Bayajiddah died, Bawo ruled in his place and had six children who later became the kings of Daura, Kano, Zazzau, Gobir, Katsina and Rano. These ,in addition to Biram which was later added to the group, were historically known as the seven Hausa states. Thus,Daura is generally regarded as the spiritual home of the Hausa states which were founded between AD 1000 and 1200 (see Niven, 1955). These original Hausa states were followed by the Banza Bakwai, the 'bastard' states probably representing alien states or peoples who came under the influence of the original seven Hausa states. These latter states were Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri and Kororofa. The origin story indicates that the Hausa states began as a large family. From this

premise it is likely that the emphasis on kinship affiliations and the obligations to kinsmen were as important in this part of the country as they were in the southern parts. This suggestion is confirmed by Crowder(1973:34) who indicated that "the organization of the northern peoples at this stage in history (15,000 years ago) was similar to those of the southern peoples."

As a result of the 'middleman' position of the Hausa states between the Berber traders to the north and the Forest peoples to the south,inter-state rifts developed with regards to the right of control over trade routes in the bourgeoning north/south trade. Smith (1961:596),for example,has indicated that "many of the political conflicts between Hausa states had part of their origin in the desire to control the highways of commerce." This rivalry over the control of trade routes which "tore Hausaland apart"(see Adeleye,1976:568), according to Crowder(1973:35) also "led to the growth of centralized states controlled by monarchs," though he added very quickly that,"Royal authority was not absolute".The political system comprised basically a hierarchy of village heads and fief holders who were responsible for collecting taxes for the central administration of the king (see Smith,1960). To check hereditary aristocracy,Muhammed Rimfa of Kano offered titles to eunuchs,and other socially disadvantaged persons (see Crowder,1973:47). Commenting on the Hausa peoples in this period in history, Shenton (1986) has argued that production during this period was household-based and was for use (in contrast to production for exchange which was introduced by merchant capital). Thus, the rivalry between the Hausa states weakened their

solidarity and facilitated the defeat inflicted on them by the Fulani jihadists (see Adeleye,1971).

By 1804 the Fulani jihadists had conquered and established a caliphate in Sokoto (see Last,1967). The Hausa states fell one after the other to the jihadists and the Islamic religion as well as the emirates were established.Under the emirates, the rulers (emirs) exacted tributes from the peasants. This was a form of feudalism where clients owed nearly total obedience and allegiance to patrons who were members of a religiously recognized hierarchy of a deeply entrenched ruling class (see Smith,1960). What is important for the purpose of this thesis, however, is that the Fulani introduced not just a religion but a culture (cultural prescriptions are embodied in the Koran). The Islamic religion (or way of life) undermined the pattern of social relations that previously existed. Two vital points need to be made at this juncture. First,there are surviving elements of the old cultural values of the Hausa peoples which still influence them in the work world in contemporary times and second,new values emerged out of the imposition of an Islamic culture which today influence these people in urban employment sectors. As Crowder (1973:596) rightly noted" the Fulani enthroned Islamic values as the dominant ideology of ordering society."The argument that needs to be reiterated is that the attitude of Northern Nigerian urban workers are shaped by a combination of Hausa cultural values as well as Islamic religious values. Such Hausa cultural values stem from age grade organizations,the emphasis on kinship ties and extended family obligations while Islamic values derive from religious institutions such as Koranic Schools,

Brotherhoods, Mallams,etc. The existence of kinship ties and extended family obligations among the Hausa peoples have been highlighted by Miner (1965), Last (1967) and Isichei(1983). Crowder(1973) has indicated that the political system in Hausaland still contained many indigenous Hausa cultural values. Clough's (1985:33) recent work among the Hausa, highlighted the important role played by kin groups in trade relations. He indicated that "the grain trade operated through vertical clientage networks, kin groups and lateral friendship associations." Yusuf(1975), for example, has provided a diagram of the economic, social, political, religious and kinship links maintained by a successful Kano trader. These links related to those who helped him to carry out his business and uphold his position in the community. The role of religious institutions such as Koranic schools, Brotherhoods, mallams,etc.,among Northern Nigerian muslims has also been documented. Lubeck(1981:41) in his study of Kano workers stated that:

> Africans had become socialized either voluntarily or involuntarily into Muslim culture and social practice.Muslim scholars intensified their influence through Koranic studies.This intensified the commitment to Islamic cultural participation among the commoner stratum, the talakawa.

Muslims tend to group themselves informally under a mallam or headman for prayers and study of the Holy Koran. They also carry out group

activities which are useful to them. Rules governing these religious meetings are informal, personal intiative is allowed to thrive and co-operation rather than conflict is the rule (see Cohen, 1969; Schildkrout in Cohen 1974,pp.211-12). Isichei(1983:438) has also stated that " Muslims found companionship in the neighbourhood of the mosques and daily prayer meetings of the Brotherhoods." Paden (1974) has argued that increased participation in Islamic Brotherhoods reduced ethnic differences among Muslims in the urban centre of Kano. The important point to note is that the core values in these various religious/cultural institutions (e.g.,mutual help,the emphasis on group activities and ,therefore,group solidarity) conflict with those values (e.g., competition,emphasis on individualism,lack of freedom for personal initiative,etc.) implicit in the objective conditions of urban "modern" employment and this adversely shapes their attitudes." The incorporation of Nigeria into the capitalist world economy, according to Lubeck(1981:43) actually intensified Islamic nationalism." This reaction was presumably due to the fact that bureaucracy which symbolized the physical presence of capitalism possessed values which differed in significant respects from those with which they were familiar. Thus, intense Islamic nationalism was a natural reaction to ward off any probable suppression of Islamic values under a bureaucratic environment. Mallam Tafawa Balewa the young northern politician who later became Nigeria's first Prime Minister alluded to such conflicting features of the Native Administration system (incipient bureaucracy) which tended to undermine the values of the northern peoples. He moved a motion in the Northern House of Assembly in 1950 in which he proposed that the

Native Administration system should be reformed. Specifically, Balewa noted that:

> In practice in the past, their (the peasants') views have not been sought, their welfare seldom regarded and their helplessness shockingly abused.Far from the chiefs having well defined duties,one of the biggest defects of the system is the complete ignorance of everyone from top to bottom about his rights, his obligations and powers (quoted in Whitaker,1970:97; reproduced in Ademolekun,1986:39).

While Muslims generally feel secure within the frameworks of aforementioned cultural/religious institutions, they do not necessarily feel the same way in urban employment circumstances. The Muslims in Lubeck's (1981) study cited job insecurity as the reason why they did not stay in urban employment. These people were prepared to do casual and less paying jobs such as cart pushing or porterage" because of the freedom of movement and the release from harsh supervision (see Lubeck,1981:50)." It is pertinent to recount some of the main points that have been made before winding up this section.

In addition to cultural institutions, religious institutions such as Koranic schools and Brotherhoods also imbue Muslims with values which influence their work attitudes.Muslims are obliged by the tenets of their religion to give alms to destitutes as well as other disadvantaged people. In this way,the supportive function of the

extended family institution is reinforced by the religious obligation to support one another. Young Muslims (generally known as the Almajiri) learn these tenets of the Islamic religion under mallams (learned Islamic teachers) and practise co-operative work in the household of the mallam. These youngsters are to be generally found in the Northern parts of the country where they embark on community projects. On their own initiative, these boys go in serach of temporary jobs. Once a job is secured they employ their personal initiative in the execution of such jobs. These Muslim boys are generally found in open markets in Northern Nigeria where they help shoppers with their bags in the hope of getting food or money in return. Money or food that is collected from these markets is usually brought to the mallam's household where it is shared among all members of the group. Thus, emphasis on group co-operation or group solidarity,etc.are important values which can be extrapolated from the discussion of the cultural/religious values of the Muslims of Northern Nigeria. The emphasis on co-operative effort in the execution of a job also implies the freedom to use personal initiative. Every group member is given the opportunity to make a contribution relating to the best way to execute a particular job. A Muslim boy (Almajiri) employs his personal initative in deciding whom to render his service in the market. The point that needs to be reiterated at this point is that the Muslim boys practically make any decision relating to any particularly task and that they employ their personal initiative in arriving at that particular task related decision. Since these values conflict with those implicit in the objective conditions of "modern" employment sectors, their work attitudes are correspondingly

negatively influenced. The point should also be made that the Hausa are essentially a rural people. According to Church (1980:420) "only 9% of Northern Nigeria is urban." As Peil (1981) has rightly indicated, the few who live in the town derive their values from the 91% majority in the rural areas. This suggestion is also validated by Lubeck(1981:46), who in his study of class formation in Kano (the largest and most populous northern Nigerian city) noted that:

> While an important minority of industrial workers were from Kano's established urban families, most workers were rural emigrants or peasants who commuted from areas surrounding the urban city of Kano.

Thus, their rural origin together with the various institutions and organizations which dictate rural orientations are bound to influence their perceptions and ,therefore, their orientations in the objective conditions of urban employment. Finally, the point should be made that Northern Nigerian women play a vital role in this co-operative and supportive work environment. Non-Muslim women embark on co-operative work (generally known as Ganya). Jackson (1978) has given an interesting account of how Northern Nigerian women co-operated with one another within the context of industrial bargaining. According to Jackson (1978), the management of the Kano River Project and BUD [a Brussels based holding company which grows vegetables in various underdeveloped countries] hired some Hausa women to work at their farm site in Kano. As the job responsibilities of these women increased, they (the women) demanded wage increases as a precondition for

continuing the work. The management threatened to sack these women if they did not resume work the next day. These women were undaunted and refused to budge to the threat of management. The representatives of BUD then went to a neighbouring village to recruit a new set of women to replace those on strike. When the new set of workers were told by the old ones about the cause of the strike action, the new workers showed solidarity with the old and also refused to work. In disbelief, the management reinstated the old workers. Muslim women also trade within the confines of purdah (see Schildkrout,1983) to obtain additional disposal income with which to support the household and other members of the extended family (see Fapohunda, 1978). I shall now examine the Ibo peoples.

THE IBO PEOPLES

The origin of the Igbo peoples is still a matter of speculation. The only seemingly plausible version around which there is consensus among many scholars is the one which states that they migrated from somewhere in the Middle East. The representativeness of their indigenous political systems together with the non-hereditary and achievement-centred status systems have generally fascinated many scholars. The unique political system of these people has been described in different terms by different scholars. Forde and Jones(1950) have described the Ibo type of government as non-hierarchical and ultra-democratic (also see Crowder,1973). Green (1964) has called their form of government "representative democracy" because a council of elders (see Flint,1966) played a vital role in

the government. For the same reason, Ottenberg (1971) has characterised the Ibo political system as consensus oriented gerontocracy. However,Onwubu (1975) has indicated that the elders were involved in Ibo governement only in an advisory capacity.According to him, younger persons are becoming increasingly involved in Igbo government and there is a natural tendency among these young people to seek advise from the elders who (by age) are understandably more conversant with this form of government. The age grade organization is a vital institution of community mobilization and governance among the Igbo peoples. Age grades are traditionally assigned the task of executing community projects (e.g., town halls, bore holes,festival preparations etc.). It is important to highlight the point that there are some age grade organizations that are exclusive to women(see Okonjo,1983). These age grade organizations protect and advance women's interests within the context of indigenous government. However, the point that needs to be highlighted is that the values governing age grade organizations (whether women or men) tend generally to emphasize the need for mutual support. Generally, every member of an age grade organization is usually given the opportunity to show their ability in task related matters. The execution of these tasks is usually carried out under a co-operative atmosphere. What is important for the purpose of this thesis, however, is that the widely acclaimed representativeness of the indigenous political system is based on the solidaristic relations which exist between a plethora of cultural institutions, e.g., age-grade organizations (see Ottenberg, 1971; Okafor-Omali,1965) and kin groups (see Uchendu,1965), the latter in turn tend to imbue Ibo peoples with values (e.g.,co-operation which

is an important characteristic of age-grade organizations, freedom for personal initiative,trust,etc.) which differ in important respects from those to be found in the objective conditions of urban employment. They evaluate urban employment conditions in terms of these values and shape their work attitudes accordingly.

It is important at this juncture to point out that when the colonialists introduced indirect rule into Iboland its peculiarly autocratic characteristic, which had all powers vested in a single individual (among a wholly representative peoples),created a profound value conflict which soon led to its collapse.The British had to appoint "warrant chiefs" who, because they wielded 'artificial powers'(which had no base in the indigenous political systenm), could not function without major difficulties. Indirect rule functioned best in the Northern parts of the country where an existing hierarchical Islam i.e., provided a ready tool for subordinating the indigenous peoples. In Yorubaland, indirect rule succeeded with difficulties that were not unrelated to those the colonialists faced among the Ibo peoples (śee Adamolekun,1986).

Having discussed the various politico-cultural/religious institutions whose values, I argue, influence work attitudes in the objective cconditions of urban employment, it is important to clarify a few points relating to some of the issues I have raised. While Islamic values may have overiding influence over the attitudes of those in the north, the Christian religion does not necessarily have the same effect on people in the south. Islam is an embodiment of religion and

culture. The holy Koran prescribes the range of acceptable behaviour for Muslims. Thus, it is not unlikely for a Muslim in Kano and another one in Sokoto to react in the same manner to the same question regarding alms giving or the institution of marriage. Similarly, a member of the Tijanniya Brotherhood in Kano would pray in the same manner or recite the Koran in the same way as another member in Sokoto. The point that is being made here is that Islam is the religion as well as the culture and that Islamic values are interpreted similarly by Muslims irrespective of where they live.By contrast, Christian religion is not the tradition of the southern peoples.A devout worshipper of Ogun or Shango (two important deities among the Yoruba) may be regarded as very religious by these people but Christians within the same area are likely to regard an Ogun worshipper as a' pagan'. While African traditional religion may encourage polygyny,Christian churches are definite in their condemnation of such practices. Participation in village festivals and even age-grade activities are discouraged by some churches and condemned as idolatory by others. Several churches have sprung up in recent times.Each has its version of'the only way by which you can be saved.'Some versions contradict others. Some versions indict age-old cultural practices. Nonetheless, traditional values have overriding influence over people in the southern part of the country. It is not uncommon for Christians in this part of the country to return from church on a Sunday and offer sacrifices to their forbears or the local deity. The importance attached to traditional values is perhaps one reason why syncretic churches (such as Aladura,Celestial,etc.) attract very large following in Nigeria till this day. These churches worship

the supreme God within an African cultural context. Thus, the values that have had enduring influences on those in the south are traditional values which stem from the cultural institutions that have been discussed. These values might only coincidentally be religious such as the emphasis on the need for fellowship (an obvious attempt to stimulate a sense of community among Christians) which is re-echoed in most church sermons on Sundays.

The point should also be reiterated that there were variations in forms of indigenous political systems across the country. While the Ibo peoples de-emphasised the notion of a singular leadership in their political system,the Yoruba encouraged constitutional monarchy of a non-absolutist type. Among the Hausa peoples forms of political institutions were even more variable. Isichei (1983:183),for example, has stated that:

> In Oyo, official titles were hereditary.In Hausaland,the practice varied, in pre and post jihad Zazzau (Zaria), almost no offices were hereditary,in Daura and Katsina, in both periods hereditary office was characteristic.

It should also be noted that the three major ethnic groups took part in varying degrees in the domestic as well as the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The involvement of Arochukwu (an Ibo group) in the coastal slave trade of the Delta region has been highlighted by Dike, 1956 (also see Harris,1912, for a discussion of domestic slavery in Southern Nigeria). The Fulani/Hausa hunt for slaves is discussed by

Crowder (1973) while the war captives who became slaves in the Yoruba domestic wars are also highlighted by Obayemi(1976). While feudal-type practices were widespread in the Northern emirates, these practices also existed in lesser degrees in some parts of Southern Nigeria.(see Okpaku,1972,Onimode, 1982).

It is important to recapitulate some of the points made in this section before bringing it to a close. I have argued that core values (e.g., emphases on co-operative effort or group solidarity,obligations to kinsmen,etc.) which are learned in a variety of religious/cultural institutions tend to influence work attitudes in the objective conditions of urban employment. The point should be reiterated that the fulfilment of these task related obligations involve the unrestricted use of personal inititiative. Thus, negative work attitudes are a consequence of the conflict between these core cultural values and those implicit in urban organizational structures. It is also important to reiterate the point that although the three major ethnic groups differ in religion, language as well as forms of political institutions,the underlying cultural practices among them are similar. One element of such cultural similarity is the recognition of the obligations owed members of one's extended family. Isichei (1983:250) validated this claim when she stated that:

> Most Nigerian peasant women, like most peasant men, relied on their extended family to cushion them against the misfortunes of life.

I shall now briefly examine how urban migrants retain rural links.

THE RETENTION OF RURAL LINKS BY URBAN MIGRANTS

I intend in this section to argue that the retention of rural links by urban migrants serves as a continuing reinforcement for their rural ways of perceiving things. Thus, several years of stay in the urban world does not necessarily transform the migrant's rural outlook. It is this crucial fact that makes it imperative for us to examine their values in order to be better equipped to explain their work attitudes and behaviour. I will at this juncture digress a little to examine the factors that (are generally thought to) account for rural-urban migration. Although there are other forms of migration, the rural-urban pattern of migration is the most common in Nigeria. Lloyd (1972:79), for example,has highlighted the movement of Hausa peoples" from Sokoto to the Jos tin mines(urban-urban) and the Zamfara valley groundnut producing area (urban-rural)" (also see Isichei,1983:435 for another account of rural-urban migration among the Hausa). An account of Igbo rural-urban migration has also been given by Nzimiro(1965). Among the Yoruba, this trend has also been highlighted by Adepoju, (1983). Finally, Chegwe(1977) and Imoagene (1968) have also discussed this pattern of rural-urban migration among minority ethnic groups. Scholars tend ,generally, to emphasize economic motive as the overriding reason for migrating to the urban area (see Mitchell,1969; Findley, 1969,Chegwe,1977; Adepoju,1974,1983). The economic model of migration assumes that most migrants weigh the cost and expected returns of migrating. If the expected returns outweigh the cost then migration is preferred. Todaro(1976) has

argued that it is not the real income or employment differential but the perceived income and employment opportunities that motivate migration. According to Todaro,young people (15-30 years) migrate because of the salience of future earning differentials. Sex, age and education have also been considered as important variables in migration (see Adepoju, 1983;Chegwe,1977; Caldwell,1968 and Findley, 1977). Rempel(1978) included both distance and the presence of a kin at the point of destination in his model of Kenyan rural-urban migration and both variables were shown to be highly significant while the perceived income level was not. Peace(1979) has also mentioned that the presence of kin or a townsman at the destination point are important factors in the decision to migrate.

Amin (1974) has argued that rural-urban migration deprives the rural area of vital human resources that it needs to develop. Furthermore, he argued that the profit that is made from rural labour is largely expended on urban infrastructures (e.g.,schools,hospitals,etc.) thereby widening the social gulf that already exists between the rural and urban centres. Rural-urban migration,according to him, exploits the rural area. Why, he questioned,does capital not go to where labour is cheap?(p.84.). Drawing on centre-periphery theories (see Frank,1970;Amin 1972), Chegwe (1977) has argued that the relationship between Nigerian rural and urban areas is similar to that existing between centre and periphery nations. According to him, just as the economic doctrines and practices of centre nations lead to the

underdevelopment of periphery nations, so also does rural urban migration lead to rural economic stagnation and eventual decay.

What is important for our present purpose, however, is that the migrants retain their rural links (see Peace, 1979; Hill,1977) and that these links and the values that go with them have an enduring influence on their attitudes in the objective condition of work. As Peil (1981:12) rightly noted:

> Close ties are maintained by more permanent residents through visits, messages and remittances. If a migrant's village is within 3 or 4 hours of town. he will go home at least once a year and probably more often for family re-unions, community festivals, funerals, other occasions or just to see how things 'are'.<u>These contacts can be an occasion for spreading urban values to the countryside. They are also used to exert social control over migrants to ensure that customary values are upheld</u>(my underlining).

Similarly, Chegwe(1977:17) has noted that "for the parents who have 'children' in urban jobs returns is not calculated by the volume of cash remittances, but by the fact of remittance which carries both moral satisfaction and social prestige." The literature on the retention of rural links by urban migrants is vast (see Aldous,1965; Ross, 1975;King,1977; Mabogunje, 1968; Prothero and

Barbour,1961).

Imoagene(1968) ,for example, has indicated that during the initial period of migration, the urban dweller retains his rural system of traditional values and links. He perceives the town as an extension of his village community.He leaves his family back in the village and shuttles frequently between the town and his village. While in the city, he keeps up all the channels of communication with home people through regular letters, messages and gifts. Nzimiro(1965) has also observed that the Ibo towns are a combination of both village and urban worlds. While migrants live and work in the latter, they do not view it as their home. They regard their stay as temporary and believe that their roots and future lie in their village communities. Their emotional and sentimental attachments are not with their urban communities but with their home towns. This view is consistent with Leonard's (1977:46) observation that "the workers of Africa are much better seen as urban based peasants than as proletarians."Rural Nigerian life,therefore, remains a prominent ideal among urban workers, and they define their work situation in negative or positive terms from this perspective.

This is also the basis for motivation with respect to their work. A worker's attitudinal disposition is partly reflective of the way he views his organization's ability to meet his rural familial obligations. Part of the resarch issue is the satisfaction of these cultural/religious needs (e.g.,elaborated familial

obligations,etc.) by urban workers. It is argued that workers attempt to meet these obligations over time, and they expect some return on their investments in extended family members. By tradition, this return takes the form of increasing status in the home village, as well as other ways in which continuing contributions are ultimately recognized back home. The dilemma that the worker comes to face is that his job does not provide enough to meet these obligations and gain this respects. The incentive scheme in public organizations, for example, are geared towards material needs of workers (see Otobo,1986), ignoring the fact that workers' non-material obligations equally play a vital role in the determination of their work attitudes. The migrant is further disappointed when he realises that his expectation of public sector job is unrealistic. The migrant who secures a job in the public sector discovers much to his chagrin that the features of public organizations breed peculiar social relations of production dissimilar to the ones he knows in his religious/cultural institutional framework. Co-operation which is a paramount value(in the organization of work) in most of these institutions is replaced by competition in a public organization. Besides the difference in the social relations of production,the values underlying cultural/religious (indigenous or rural) organizations are dissimilar to those underlying public organizations (e.g.impersonal relations,lack of trust,etc.among public workers). This value disimilarity does have adverse consequences for worker motivation, innovation and overall organizational productivity.

THE ETHNIC FACTOR IN PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCE

The issue of ethnicity within the broader context of Nigerian politics is generally regarded as a brainchild of British colonialism (see Onwubu,1975). It is generally argued that the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 did not forster any sense of unity among the various groups in the country. People still allowed ethnic sentiments to override national loyalties in virtually all matters. The concept of ethnicity and its implications for Nigerian politics is not particularly relevant to the theme of this thesis. However, I shall briefly explore the role of ethnicity within the contexts of private and public work. As a prelude to this latter discussion, it is important to reiterate the point that the tendency towards mutual support is a pervasive value among various sections of Nigeria. While this tendency tends to find full expression in private sector organizations,public organizations are by contrast plagued by ethnicity. In the private sector, rules governing promotion and other forms of reward are stipulated and religiously applied across the board (see Omogbehin,1985). Efficiency is duly rewarded and laziness is punished. Reward is generally commensurate with the amount of effort the particular individual has exerted. Every worker is aware of each other's ability,and there is mutual respect for one another. Social interactions develop across ethnic boundaries because it is only by working in tandem that the company will remain afloat. If they do not work they do not get paid and if they are not committed to their jobs the company will cease to

remain viable and they will loose their jobs. If a worker for some reason is unable to come to work in a particular day, his work is shared out among others, and, when the particular worker resumes, he personally expresses his appreciation to all those who covered for him while he was away. Friendships develop across ethnic boundaries (see Peil,1981), and it is not uncommon for Muslim workers to extend invitations to their Christian colleagues during the celebration of Muslim festivals. Sometimes leftovers (mostly beef) from such celebrations are brought to the work place and distributed among co-workers (irrespective of religious affiliation). People may speak different languages, but it does not really matter in this place because these people generally believe that what you get from a private organization is a measure of what you have contributed.

The situation in the public sector is different. Generally, there is the notion of a free national cake to be shared. Organizational activity is merely an interplay of ethnic conflict relating to the amount of the cake that can be grabbed for one's particular ethnic group. A senior officer who queries a clerk (from a different ethnic group) for coming late to work, is quickly reminded of those from his ethnic group who come late to work but are never queried. Workers here do not view commitment as an important aspect of the job. The monthly salary is not even affected by one's performance because there is no standard yardstick for measuring performance in this place. Promotions are also generally perceived to be ethnically biased. As

Otobo(1986:123) rightly noted:

> Ethnic chauvinism of varying intensity has predictably plagued various sectors of the public service, undermining the existence of any systems of motivation because promotions and postings are are greeted with suspicion and hostility.

Government's emphasis on the quota system(equal ethnic representation) has further sharpened the edges of inter-ethnic conflict in public organizations. Every ethnic group wants a big slice of the 'national cake', and this is considered more important than any efforts at enhancing job commitment. Thus, the commitment to the ideals of one's ethnic group is absolute while the commitment to the objective of a public organization is weak and shaky (see Callaway,1975;Onwubu,1975; Ekeh,1975). As Arnold (1977:11) rightly noted:

> Part of the Nigerian problem appears to be an absence of social obligation at least at the national level. People do not feel they owe as much to the state as they do to their family, tribe or region.

It is important at this juncture to reiterate the main points about ethnicity in public organizations.Ethnic identity plays a crucial role in political consciousness among Nigerians (see Sklar, 1963; Ademolekun, 1986; Peace, 1979). People do not feel they owe any

obligations to the state in the way that they owe to their village organizations or extended family members. Ekeh (1975),for example, has highlighted the existence of two publics in Nigeria (the primordial and the national publics). According to him, while people tend to be committed to the ideals of their (home) primordial publics they do not seem to bother about the obligations they owe the national public. Finally, one reason why ethnicity is less pervasive in the private sector (see Omogbehin,1985) is that private organizations tend to adapt some of their practices to the values that workers bring from the wider environment and this stimulates a feeling of worker identification with organizational objective(s).

It should be emphasized that the much talked about African hospitality stems from the supportive nature of the aforementioned cultural/religious institutions. African hospitality is mainly explicable in terms of the collective responsibility that people show in community matters. A village community is generally made up of several age-grades each assigned with specific tasks designed to better the standard of living of the people. Work relationships are genrally co-operative. Every community member has a stake in every event or ceremony of the community. A community member for example, is tradition bound to attend ceremonies relating to other members of the community. There need not be any formal invitations to such ceremonies. This overwhelming feeling of community among this people has been highlighted by Baker

(1974) who in his study of political change in Lagos concluded that one vital political resource of Lagos is group solidarity defined as the consciousness of a common identity among a given set of individuals. Various forms of organizations which rely on co-operative efforts have sprung up in Nigeria. Lieber(1971:25),for example, has indicated that :

> In the community of Ikot Oku Nsit(in the South eastern region of Nigeria), everyone belongs to some society or the other. This roughly approximates a form of age group organization. Children between nine and fifteen are members of a society responsible for weeding and doing other communal work.

Other scholars who have emphasized the significance of mutual help among Nigerian peoples include Marris (1961), who noted that Africans who were employed in the modern sector gave a significant proportion of their salaries as gifts to extended family members. Similarly, Ifemesia (1979:81) has indicated that,"the age-grade organization is the institution by which democratic Igbo communities co-operated for work."The collaborative tendency among Africans, in general, has been described as African Humanism(see Aboyade,1980). According to Aboyade(1980:84)," African Humanism seeks to achieve egalitarianism through a deep sense of man's rssponsibility to his community. Through this holistic approach to economic and social relations. It attempts to blend individual and social morality as a basis for social consensus and social action."

it is pertinent to recount some of the points that have been made in this section.There are a variety of cultural/religious institutions(e.g.,age grade, extended family, Koranic schools, Brotherhoods,etc.) from which the Nigerian worker learns his values. These values tend to converge under a common theme of co-operation and supoport for less advantaged persons. These values have been variously called African Humanism or communalism, etc.(see Aboyade,1980;Onoge,1974; Rodney, 1972). In public employment, the worker encounters values that are discordant with those which have influenced him all his life and the continuing value conflict that is experienced by the worker is the basis for the persistence of negative attitudes in Nigerian public sector. I shall now briefly examine the role of the Nigerian woman.

THE STATUS OF THE NIGERIAN WOMAN

It is important to include a discussion here of women in modern Nigeria. Unfortunately, circumstances beyond my control meant that my samples are unrepresentative of women. Nevertheless, I cannot embark on a comprehensive discussion of the Nigerian workforce without taking some account of women. I shall now briefly discuss women in traditional Nigeria.

Controversy surrounds the past and present roles of the African woman. This controversy seems to revolve around three themes:1.Whether the African woman was exploited in pre-colonial epoch (e.g.,Davidson,1978:59).2.The exploitation of the African

woman began with or was exacerbated by the introduction of a 'capitalist' economic system(e.g.Machel,1975;WIN(Women in Nigeria,1983); Dennis,1983;Okonjo,1983).3.Whether the exploitation of the African woman in pre and post colonial epochs has been over exagerated (see Leith-Ross, 1965:221;Jike,1978). Isichei(1983:257) has as yet provided the best view of the Nigerian woman. According to her:

> The circumstances of the pre-colonial Nigerian woman varied from the enforced seclusion of the hundred of wives of great Oba (Kings), to the major entrepreneurial undertakings of the great women traders, to the much more typical palimpsest of varied duties which made-up the day of a village woman.

There is some evidence in the literature which suggests that the division of labour was based on sex in some Nigerian communities (see Ottenberg,1965). Lloyd(1975:98), for example, has noted that:

> The Ibo man,for instance, customarily cuts down the oil-palm fruits and his wife prepares the oil and sells it on her husband's behalf, she retains the kernels and cracks and sells those for her own profits.

Yoruba women have traditionally traded while their men farmed or hunted (see Johnson,1921;Sudarkasa,1973). Scholars unhesitatingly point to the Northern woman in purdah (seclusion) as a classical

case of exploitation (see Fapohunda,1978). But even in this respect,Schildkrout(1983:115) has indicated that "the vast majority of Hausa married women do, however, work for an income, albeit from within the confines of purdah. My argument is lucidly made by Fapohunda(1978:223). According to her,"traditionally,societies have defined different economic and social roles for the sexes. The socially defined duties and responsibilities of a woman as a wife, mother, or relative may either encourage or preclude modern sector employment. Generally, it is a Nigerian woman's duty to cook for her husband, keep the house and raise the children." The Koran is quite unequivocal on the role it has carved out for women under Islam, and it is heretical to challenge this orthodox Islamic role. According to Sura IV, for example, "Men have authority over women, because Allah has made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient. They guard their unseen parts because Allah has guarded them (see Dawood,1959:358)."It is considered heretical (among Muslims) to challenge this orthodox Islamic role. For a fair judgement to be passed on this religious practice, it is imperative that a preliminary survey be undertaken to elicit the opinions of these women (in purdah) regarding their own definition of this supposedly exploitative situation. Before such a project is undertaken, it is unfair to condemn the purdah institution as exploitative. After watching the strike action executed by Muslim women, Jackson(1978:24), surprisingly noted that," certainly the sterotype image of Hausa women as totally submissive, obedient, lacking in power and oppressed by an Islamic ideology which specifically

devalues women,is somewhat at odds with the way these women organized their strike." In spite of the widespread criticism of the purdah institution, many Hausa women have achieved fame in the past. In Katsina, Queen Amina became celebrated for her widespread conquest. She established a kingdom as far as Nupeland and Kwararafa and wielded political influence over these areas for thirty-four years (see Okonjo,1983;Isichei,1983). After seeing the pre-eminent role of the Iyalode (mother of the town) in nineteenth century Ibadan and Abeokuta a missionary visitor commented that :

> These Yoruba people have some very nice arrangements about their form of government. I found out that there was an 'Iyalode', mother of the town, to whom all women palavers (disputes) are brought before they are taken to the king.She is in fact a sort of queen (see Isichei,1983:191).

There has been a woman Oloa (ruler) of Ilesha, a woman Osemawe of Ondo and even till this day an important chief in Ilesha is the Arishe who has her own palace. Quite often women have assumed office such as regent at the death of the Oba as was the case in Ondo state in 1978 (see Jike, 1978).

The Aba women's riot has yet to be equalled in "its militancy and spontaneity" (see Ottenberg,1965:205). The point to be made is that the role of the Nigerian woman is stipulated by culture. The coming of the European and the consequent introduction of schools

enabled the Nigerian woman to acquire Western education which increasingly compelled her to seek paid employment. The expectations associated with her new role as a wage earner placed her in an ambivalent position with respect to her previous traditional roles of cooking the meals and minding children. As Fapohunda (1978:225) noted,"by encouraging high fertility, the extended family system discourages female modern sector employment by making it more difficult for women to combine child-rearing responsibilities with work outside the home." The conflict between the traditional role of the Nigerian woman and the role she is expected to play within the context of modernization has given rise to a coterie of scholars on the Nigerian scene whose aim is mainly to compare men and women at work in order to reveal any discriminatory practices in specific cases or organizations (see di Domenico,1983 ;1978;Dennis, 1983;Pittin,1984). Di Domenico(1983) in her study of female factory workers in Ibadan, noted that these women were less likely to be hired than men because management believed that their roles as mothers impinged on the commitment they had towards their jobs. According to her, this was indicative of gender discrimination (also see Pittin,1984). While there has yet to be a work that is specifically devoted to the attitudes of women to work, a few studies exist from which womens' work attitudes can be extrapolated. Di Domenico (1983:261) in her study of Ibadan factory workers noted that "both sexes share to a considerable extent the same norms,values and perceptions regarding work" . Furtheremore, she stated that "both sexes shared an instrumental attitude to factory employment (see p.262)" However,

she failed to relate this widespread instrumental attitude to wider societal factors as I have discussed in this thesis. Her work obfuscates the relationship between beliefs, values and attitudes. Similarly, the work does not also provide an insight into how attitudes about significant objects or situations are formed. Dennis(1983) has also highlighted unfair management practices against women in Odu A'tex factory in Ado Ekiti, Ondo State. According to her, women who possessed similar educational qualification with men received lesser pay than men. The implication of this study is that womens' work attitudes would follow from the extent to which they perceive equity to prevail in the reward scheme within the organization.

Before bringing this section to a close it is important to indicate that women are underrepresented in the sample for this study mainly because the physically exerting nature of most of the organizations that I investigated made these places less attractive to working women. Although,based on the findings of previous work on women (see Omogbehin,1985;di Domenico,1983), it is unlikely that the attitudes of women to public work will be significantly different from those of men.This assumption is based on the fact that both sexes derive their values from similar religious/cultural institutions in the larger environment. Finally,although not particularly relevant to the theme of this thesis,it is important to note that the controversy about the past and the present roles of the Nigerian woman should be placed in the Nigerian perspective (of the cultural role of the woman) for a better

understanding. I intend to examine the Nigerian working class and industrial relations in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NIGERIAN WORKING CLASS AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS PRACTICE

Contrary to previous research (e.g.Peace, 1979;Cohen,1980), it is argued in this chapter that a marxist framework of understanding is inappropriate for understanding work attitudes or behaviour in Nigerian organizational setting. The uniformity of interests(or lack of it) among members of the Nigerian working class is also examined. The point is highlighted that ethnic group affiliation tends to undercut the crystallization of class consciousness among Nigerian workers. Similarly, the labour aristocrats (see Arrighi,1970;Saul and Arrighi (1968) have interests which differ substantially from those of the majority of workers. The problems (e.g.,ethnicity, leadership tussles,Government decrees,etc.) that generally beset Nigerian labour organizations are mentioned. Finally, some differences between private and public sector unions are highlighted.

There is little controversy about the existence of social inequality in Nigeria. The pattern of social stratification of the Nigerian society has been highlighted by various scholars(see William,1970,1974,1977;Gutkind,1975). What is problematic is whether the Nigerian class structure conforms to Marx's notion of the proletariat (propertiless workers) and bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) who are perpetually antagonistic to each other or the Weberian schema in which class is characterized as

those occupying similar market and work situations and in which status is defined as those sharing similar lifestyles, social prestige,etc.

Scholars (e.g., Williams,1978; Onimode, 1980, 1981, 1982; Cohen,1980; Lubeck,1975;Peace, 1979; Abduraheem and Olukoshi, 1986,etc.) have generally referred to the Nigerian classes in Marx's terms and it is generally assumed that each distinct occupational group constitutes a class unto itself. William(1978:2), for example, has noted that " during the colonial period, a commercial bourgeoisie emerged which overlapped with the small professional class. In the 1950s, alliances of commercial, professional and bureaucratic classes and in the North the office holding aristocracy appropriated political power."

It is a great oversimplification to refer to a Nigerian bureaucratic class because as Omogbehin (1985) rightly noted, the Nigerian bureaucracy consists of distinct occupational/ethnic groups with a plurality of interests. It is equally inappropriate to regard those in the lowest rung of the social ladder('the masses') in Nigeria as having identical interests. The inappropriateness of categorizing third world workers as proletarians has been highlighted in the literature. According to Sivanandan (1980:39), "how (the masses) produce has no relation to how they used to produce. They have not grown into one from the other. They have not emerged into capitalist production but have been flung into it.... into technologies and labour processes that

reify them and into social relations that violate their customs and their codes. They work, in the factories, in towns to support their families, their extended families in the village, to contribute to the building of the village temple, to help get a teacher, to sink a well."

Since Nigerian classes are genrally referred to in Marx's terms,it is pertinent at this juncture to examine Marx's theory of class in order to assess its applicability to the particular Nigerian situation.

Marx has emphasized the ownership of property as the source of social inequality. According to Marx, the relationship between the bourgeoisie (the owners of the means of production and their propertiless workers(the proletariat) is exploitative. Since the latter group share experiences under similar organizational circumstances they may become aware of their relatively disadvantaged position and readily make attempts to change this position. Marx's assumptions regarding the final dissolution of capitalist society have been summarized by Jike (1982:35) as follows:"(1) By being in the propertiless stratum, the workers become aware of their vulnerability to exploitation;(2)By sharing experiences in the factories during the productive exercises, they become cognizant of the similarities of their unequal life chances and thus develop what Marx calls class consciousness;(3)The final stage is projecting this class consciousness in ameliorating their social conditions. For Marx, therefore, the existential base of

class consciousness is the recognizability of the objective conditions of inequality." Various scholars have developed criteria as to what constitutes class consciousness. The various conceptions of class consciousness centre around seven criteria: (1) class structure exists(e.g., Landecker,1963;William,1976; Peace,1979;Morris and Murphy,1969;(2) class barriers exist (e.g.,Onimode,1982; Williams, 1976, Peace, 1979; Landecker, 1963);(3) class deprivation exists (e.g., Legget ,1963a,1963b, 1964,1968);(4) class discontent should exist (e.g., Manis and Meltzer, 1963; Weber, 1966); (5) People in a class should share collective interest with regard to their class situation(e.g., Arrighi and Saul, 1968;Landecker,1963; Morrris and Murphy,1969); (6)class interest should be pursued through collective action (e.g.,Lockwood ,1981;Lubeck, 1981;Legget, 1963a,1963b,1964; Morris and Murphy,1969; and (7) due to their conflicting interests the relationship between classes are antagonistic(e.g.Manis and Meltzer,1963). Thus, class consciousness is tied to the recognition of the objective economic position that people occupy in the workplace. Recognizing the imperativeness of an interest identity for class consciousness to crystallize, Wright(1978:97), for example,has indicated that:"Marxism is not primarily a theory of class structure,it is above all a theory of class struggle." Thus, the notion of an alternative society which is the end-shift of the "class struggle" is very important in Marx's theory of class (see Hraba and Siegman,1974).

Lockwood(1981) remains one of the most vociferous critics of Marx's

theory of class. Lockwood (1981), for example, has highlighted the falsehood in Marx's assumption of rationality which underlies the 'inevitable' self-education of the proletariat into an interested collectivity for the eventual task of toppling the bourgeoisie. Similarly, the claim implicit in Marx's theory that, impoverishment leads to radicalism, or conversely that affluence leads to conservatism, according to Lockwood(1981:443) is" neither empirically supportable nor logically sound.it is not the case that the more impoverished and economically insecure workers are invariably,or even usually, the most radical or that periods of falling real wages and high unemployment are invariably those of working class radicalism." Of particular significance to the theme of this thesis is the criticism by Lockwood(1981:445) that"the basic weakness of the theory of revolutionary praxis is its neglect of the obstacles placed in the path of proletarian reason by 'moral elements ' and tradition." "The position of values and norms within the marxist theory of class is very uncertain,p442." The argument that is advanced in this section is that the formation of Nigerian working class solidarity is impaired by cultural factors such as ethnicity, (to some extent) religious affiliation,etc.

The emphasis of neo-marxism on the dependent status of developing countries "rather devalues (anthropological) studies of local communities set in the zone of peripheral capitalism," (Peel,1983:4). The charge of cultural devaluation stems largely from the claim by marxists that these peripheral countries do not possess internal dynamics of their own and that they only react to

market forces from metropolitan countries. The inability to reconcile conventional marxism with the internal dynamics of peripheral countries is, presumably, the reason why some French scholars (e.g.,Meillassoux,1964, Vidrovitch,1978) adapted marxism to the particularities of the African situation. This variant of marxism gave a more realistic account of the "mutual conditioning of indigenous pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production," (Peel, 1983:4).

Although the Nigerian labour scene has for long been characterized by strike actions, the point needs to be emphasized that these strike actions do not presuppose the existence of a solidary Nigerian working class. While unanimity of purpose among workers during the pre-colonial period was hardly an issue, contemporary labour organizations are characterized by ethnic squabbles relating to equity in the share of the 'national cake'. For example,In 1897, barely thirty-six years after Lagos came under colonial rule,Lagos workers staged a strike action to protest about low colonial wages (see Hughes and Cohen ,1978).

Wages in pre- and post-colonial times have been traditionally determined by commissions of inquiry (for a list of these commissions see Otobo,1986;Cohen,1984), and there is agreement among scholars that strike action has always resulted from the mode of implementation of the recommendations of these commissions (see Peace, 1979 ; Otobo,1981;Kirk-Greene and Rimmer,1981). During the colonial era, Nigerian workers tended to blend working class

consciousness with the struggle for national self-determination (see Abduraheem and Olukoshi, 1986). The oppressor was unmistakably British and had to be replaced. Workers were unanimous in their perception of the need for Nigerians to take control of the government. The unity of purpose among workers changed after independence. Thus, although strike actions may be a constant feature of the Nigerian labour scene, the point should be reiterated that these strike actions might be misleading measures of working class consciousness.

A marxist framework of understanding is inappropriate for understanding Nigerian work attitudes for the following reasons:(1). Ethnicity tends to undercut working class homogeneity (in the sense of having a unity of purpose). While ethnic considerations were mainly less important in labour matters during the colonial period, these considerations became the key issues in post colonial labour organizations. As soon as the colonialists were out of the way,the struggle for a share of the national cake between the various ethnic groups encouraged ethnicity which obviously undermined the crystallization of working class consciousness.

Callaway (1975:95), for example, has noted that:

> Emerging class distinctions were deeply undercut by ethnic cleavages while colonially inherited federal structures reinforced social inequality and economic imbalances.

It is unlikely that a member of an ethnic group whose members predominantly control key positions in a particular government will support any class-based move to unseat such a government. It is even more unlikely for a member of a particular ethnic group to support a so-called proletarian revolution if he feels that a government of the proletariat will mean the domination of his ethnic group by other groups. Thus,ethnicity undercuts class consciousness among Nigerian workers (see Callaway,1975).Ethnicity is sometimes used by those in the same class stratum to exploit each other or members of the classes above them. As Ekekwe(1986:256) rightly noted" ethnic symbols and connections were used to gain and retain a certain position that would enhance their exploitation of other classes." Among the Muslims of the North, Islam is still a prefered way of life and the notion of a utopian alternative (socialism) is not only blasphemous but unthinkable. Lubeck(1981:52) in his study of Kano workers has indicated that "Kano workers may develop class awareness,take class action and form workers' organizations ,but it is unrealistic at this stage to expect them to develop an alternative societal vision, which the achievement of a revolutionary level of class consciousness entails."(2). The characteristic struggle for leadership positions in Nigerian public organizations (including labour organizations, see Kilby ,1969) tends to widen the ethnic divide among workers because the aspirants to these positions draw mainly on ethnic resources,loyalties or support. The central labour organization (NLC) is particularly plagued by grave ethnic problems which undoubtedly compelled the former Secretary-General

of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress(NTUC), Mr Sam Bassey to resignedly conclude in 1973 that :

> Conditions for labour unity do not exist in this country(see Arnold,1977:116).

(3).Status differentiation exists within the Nigerian working class. Thus, instead of having similar interests, workers generally tend to have different and sometimes conflicting interests. The diversity of interest in the working class is partly explicable in terms of the fluidity of the groups that comprise the working class. The Nigerian working class is fluid (see Copans,1985), comprising largely of the wage earners, the petty traders,child and female labour in the informal sector,the temporarily unemployed,etc. This fluidity makes this society particularly inappropriate for a marxian framework of understanding. Recognizing this characteristic fluidity,Omogbehin(1985:78),for example,has noted that"the Nigerian social class is not so rigid and dichotomous as to cause Marx's forecasted revolutionary opposition by the proletariat against the entire social structure."

Another problem which is related to the one above is the claim that Nigerian labour aristocrats have interests which differ substantially from those of the majority of Nigerian workers. Arrighi and Saul (1968) provoked an important debate when they extended the 'labour aristocracy' debate to the African continent and argued that African wage earners were mainly involved in labour issues to protect their privileged interests which differed

substantially from those of the non-waged and peasants.Others have concluded that "their strategic economic position and bargaining ability enabled them(these wage earners) to engage in discretionary consumption" (see Williams, 1976:52). A number of eminent scholars emerged on both sides of the debate . Those who supported Arrighi and Saul's (1968) contention include Kilby (1969:301) who noted that:

> Rather than being an exploited group, organized labour is already a highly privileged minority. There is much labour unrest, but it has little to do with the absolute wage or conditions of work;rather it is as in Nigeria, an expression of the relative deprivation of the haves vis a vis the even smaller minority of the have mores.

Similarly, Berg(1966:120) in his contribution to the debate indicated that:

> However low their income and welfare by some absolute yardsticks,African wage earners are in general a relatively privileged group in African society. They enjoy more of the benefits of modernization and growth than any other African social group.They have available more and better health care, a larger share of the conveniences and amusements of modern life-- from supermarkets to cinemas.

Carrying forward this line of argument,the African Research Group(ARG) in Massachussetts(1970:5) noted that" 40% of Nigerian

workers were labour aristocrats who had similar interests with those of typical white collar workers."

In contrast, Peace(1974) argued that the existence of any social gap between the African wage earner and his peasant counterpart was more imaginary than real. Basing his argument on the study carried out in Lagos, Peace(1974) noted that the gain made by the working class was shared by an inestimably wider population because of shared values and kinship obligations which encouraged support for less fortunate relatives. Hinchliffe(1974) also indicated that the much talked-about social gap between Nigerian workers and peasants which "is based on the disparity of income between both groups(see Turner,1966:13)" was rather exagerated because, according to him," there was little difference in living standards between both groups (see Hinchliffe,1974:66). Hinchliffe (1974),however, cleverly avoided the question of how the peasants that he studied perceived their economic position relative to those of their urban wage-earning counterparts. Cohen (1976:165) also disagreed with the notion of a social gap between workers and peasants. According to him, "such a blanket dismissal of the African working class should be resisted."

Williams (1976:52) introduced a new dimension to the debate when he stated that "workers' immediate demands are distinct from the demands of farmers or those of craftsmen and petty traders primarily dependent on rural markets and the multiplier effects of farmers income, who are more concerned with favourable crop

prices. Furthermore, the dependence of clerks on governments and revenues for their incomes made them ultimately dependent on the state's ability to sustain it's financial commitment by exploiting farmers." William's (1976) observation is suggestive of the existence of a zero-sum relationship between Nigerian wage earners and peasants. What one group loses, the other gains.This suggested relationship may well explain why, for example, after taking part in the nation-wide strike of 1945, the civil servants in the city of Jos were attacked by the peasants who considered the strike activity a disturbance of the peace of the town.Because majority of the civil servants in Jos at the time were Ibo and majority of the peasants were Hausa, the riot that ensued was misconstrued as an inter-ethnic strife (see Plotnicov,1984).

Nigerian classes are less permanent than those implied by Marx's theory of class. Very few workers are willing to remain long enough in the 'proletarian' struggle. For example, when the Agbekoya revolt (see Beer, 1975;Beer and Williams,1975) took place in the Western part of Nigeria in 1968, the leader of the group reneged on the struggle as soon as the government put him in 'comfortable' circumstances (accommodation,etc.,). Thus, the leader was bought off, became 'embourgeoisified,'protected his privileged position and even used this position to persuade his fellow peasants to give up the struggle. When the revolt finally subsided, those peasants who received compensation from the government gave up farming for good and set up other commercial ventures. The public worker considers his job as temporary and usually makes

attempts to establish a private venture to which he will return when he finally decides to quit. Thus, participation in any strike action is not necessarily to usher in an age of socialism but to seek increases in wages/salaries. In 1981, the Nigerian nurses embarked on a strike action to back up their demand to be placed on the salary grade level 8. Nigerian Central Bank workers also embarked on a strike action with similar demands. In the same year the nation-wide strike that took place generally centred on demands for increases in salaries and the re-introduction of the car loan scheme(see Otobo,1981). While salary increases may affect all workers,the re-introduction of the car loan (which has been re-introduced) lends credence to the claim of the existence of a labour aristocracy within the Nigerian working class structure. Thus, an already fragile working class interest identity is further threatened by the social gap that is created between those who possess cars and those who do not.

Part of the problem of categorizing classes in Nigeria could also be traced to the inherent problem of marxism in lacking a clear conception of the inter-relationship between class and status structures(see Lockwood,1981). While people sharing similar lifestyles can easily be grouped as belonging to the same class,this classification (Weberian) is largely unacceptable because it precludes any hopes for a working class revolutionary action. The utopian vision of life following the revolutionary action is, undoubtedtly,an important reason why the majority of Nigerian leftist scholars and workers are rather tenacious in their

hold to Marx's notion of class.

Finally, the point should be highlighted that a Weberian conception of action is more advantageous for explaining organizational behaviour in Nigeria. Weber's characterization of class as constituting those occupying simil..ar market and work situations implicitly recognizes the vital role of wider societal institutions from which these concepts("market" and "work") derive their meanings.

> As Parsons (1949:313) rightly noted, class interests are a function of the realistic situation in which people act and of the definitions of those situations which are institutionalised in society (reproduced in Lockwood,1981:547).

Thus, class or work behaviours are better understood by examining wider societal factors. An important point that is also worthy of mention is that the usefulness of a value conflict explanation of work attitudes lies in its universalism. Where ever workers may come from, the values governing work in their local environment differ from those to be encountered in urban employment circumstances. The ensuing value conjunction,whether conflict or convergence, determines the worker's attitude to his job. I shall now discuss Industrial relations' practice in Nigeria.

THE BEGINNING OF ORGANIZED LABOUR AND THE PRINCIPLE OF VOLUNTARISM

The Nigerian Civil Service Union was formed in 1912. This was closely followed by the Railway Workers Union and the Nigerian Union of Teachers in 1931. There was a rapid growth in the number of trade unions between 1931 and 1950. Within this period the number of trade unions rose from 3 in 1931 to 144 in 1950. Union membership in the same period also rose from 4000 to over 140,000 (see Fashoyin,1980 pp20-25). The rapid growth in union membership at this time was partly accounted for by the need to improve workers' welfare which was at its lowest ebb as a result of the inflationary pressure that followed from the Second World War. Trade union activities during this period transcended conventional boundaries and soon encompassed nationalist objectives (see Coleman,1958). Thus, union activities took on a nationalist fervour and indeed became the vanguard for decolonization.

Although a barrage of protective and minimum welfare legislation, including prohibition of forced labour, minimum conditions of recruitment and long-term contract,minimum wage and workers compensation for accidents and deaths, were passed during the 1920s,1935 is generally regarded as the beginning of an explicit labour policy in Nigeria. The Trade Union Ordinance which was enacted in 1935 endowed labour unions with legal status and also stipulated code of conduct for unions. The Workmen Compensation Ordinance of 1941 exhorted employers to compensate workers who sustained injuries while working. A conciliation and arbitration

machinery was set up in 1941. Similarly,a Wage Fixing and Registration Ordinance was enacted in 1943 which empowered the Governor General upon the advice of the Labour Advisory Board(the Wages Board after 1957) to set minimum wages. In 1942 the Labour Department established a special section to cater for trade union matters. Professional unionists were seconded from the British trade union to advise the fledgling Nigerian unionists on the intricacies of union organization. A scholarship scheme was also introduced to enable aspiring Nigerian unionists to train in overseas universities preparatory to assuming union offices. The intention of the government was specifically to replicate the British system of industrial relations in Nigeria, whereby conditions of employment could be determined by collective bargaining between union representatives and employers of labour. The pattern of industrial relations was based on the principle of voluntarism. According to Chief F.Okotie-Eboh who was the Minister of Labour in 1955:

> Government re-affirms its confidence in the effectiveness of voluntary negotiation and collective bargaining for the determinatin of wages. The long term interest of government, employer and trade unions alike would seem to rest on the process of consultation and discussion which is the foundation of democracy in industry (see 1955 Ministy of Labour Annual Report).

Although Nigerian industrial relations system is tailored along the British system, the principle of voluntarism around which the

British system revolves is glaringly absent in Nigerian industrial relations practice. Conditions of service and salaries/wages are not negotiated between a prospective employee and his employer but solely determined by the employer. As a Federal Ministry of Commerce bulletin indicated:

> In Nigeria, employers still fix wages and conditions of employment without reference to labour unions and it is not common practice for unions and employers to negotiate and sign contracts which fix wages and other conditions of service for a given period (see Federal Ministry of Commerce and industry,Industrial labour:An introductory Guide for prospective investors.Lagos 1963 p.23)

Wages/salaries and conditions of service in the unionized sector of the labour market have been historically determined by independent commissions of inquiry (e.g.,Adebo,Udoji, etc.) in which neither workers nor employers were represented. The common industrial relations practice thus defies the principle of voluntarism which is theoretically regarded by government as the bedrock on which the country's industrial relations practice is based. Two major requirements for voluntarism to effectively operate,according to Kilby(1969:209),are that:

> Both parties possess the capability and the willingness to negotiate,to give and take and that in the final resort,if all else fails,there exists the freedom to strike and to lock out.

Since these crucial requirements are absent in Nigerian industrial relations practice, it is hardly contestable to say that Nigerian industrial relations practice is not voluntaristic. It is worthwhile at this juncture to examine, very briefly, a few of the commissions of inquiry that have influenced industrial relations practice in Nigeria.

The Trade Union Ordinance of 1935 registered associations that were not necessarily trade unions in the strict sense of the word. According to Kilby(1969) the permissive terminology of the statute allowed indigenous associations such as the Ote Tomo native herbalist union and the Gbongan mud builders to be able to acquire legal status as substantive unions. Much more important however were trade associations of independent Nigerian businessmen in such fields as carpentary,tailoring,fishing,building,truck pushing and timber selling. Three quarters of all labour unions had a membership of less than 250. Hence, not only was the number of unions overstated but so was the preponderance of small unions. Despite this inflation of numbers, it remains factual that Nigerian unions are generally small. The average union size in the UK is 25 times that of its Nigerian counterpart.For example,in 1964,there were 591 unions in the UK and an overall membership of 10,065,000(NECK news,May 1966). The comparable figures for Nigeria was 540 unions with a total membership of 367,200 (see Kilby,1969).

The (premier) Nigerian central labour organization,the Trade Union

Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) was formed in 1942. The TUCN held its maiden conference in August 1943 during which a communique was issued in favour of nationalization of privately owned utilities. At this meeting contact was also made with outside organizations, especially the World Federation of Trade Unions(WFTU). Internal rifts within the TUCN soon led to its split along contrasting political viewpoints, the pro-capitalists and the pro-socialists. Adducing reasons for this split, Kilby(1969), who has done an elaborate work on industrial relations practice in Nigeria, noted that the rift resulted as much from personality clashes as the ideological controversy surrounding the choice between affiliating with the pro-West ICFTU or the communist WFTU. Thus,as a result of the rift there was little contribution by the TUCN to the enhancement of the welfare of Nigerian workers during this period. Kilby (1969) for example,has confirmed that between 1945 and 1963 the central trade union organization made no positive contribution to the development of a viable industrial relations system. On the contrary it impeded development by diverting energy from the fundamental task of building sound unions and, by virtue of fissure at the international level, set in motion yet another divisive force to weaken the already fragile unions.

ETHNIC RIVALRY AND THE MUSHROOMING OF LABOUR ORGANIZATIONS

Ethnic rivalry between the Yoruba and the Ibo also contributed to the split in the TUCN. For example, the formation in 1948 of the Yoruba organization the Egbe Omo Oduduwa (the society of the

descendants of Oduduwa) increased the pressure on the TUCN to disaffiliatiate from the NCNC (the National Council of Nigerian Citizens),an Ibo (a rival ethnic group-led) political party in the First Republic. The most vocal splinter group was co-headed by leftist political activists, M.Imoudu and N.Eze.The Nigerian National Federation of Labour as it later came to be known had, as its objectives to :

> Impart political knowledge to the workers, to press for the socialization of important industries with a view to realizing a socialist government and to work for the triumphant emergence of a world parliament of the working class (see Ministry of Labour Quarterly Rerview,March 1960 p.40).

The most prominent and divisive outside influence on the Nigerian labour movement was the intervention of the World federation of trade unions (WFTU) and the International federation of Free trade union(ICFTU) in Nigerian labour issues. In the 1940s, when the central labour organization was split along contrasting ideological viewpoints, the ICFTU and the WFTU both established secretariats in Nigeria with professional lobbyists and veteran politicians intent on winning ideological converts at the expense of a unified trade union organization for the country. This perfect re-enactment of the scramble for spheres of influence on the African continent (although, unlike 1885, this time it was in the labour realm) would have continued unabated, were it not for the decisive intervention of Murtala Mohammed and consequent expulsion of both labour

organizations from the country.

The early 1950s witnessed an unprecedented mushrooming of trade unions in Nigeria. Apart from the disruptive external influence on Nigerian labour organizations, there were also potently divisive internal factors such as tribalism or ethnicity. A delicate balance had to be maintained between the ethnic constituents of a union.Usually offices had to be divided among members of the three major ethnic groups, viz., Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa, in what has now become popularly known as quota system. Apart from maintaining a balance between the three main ethnic groups, this system resulted in the minority groups constantly expressing fears of domination by majority ethnic groups. One glaring disadvantage of quota system has been that capability for a particular job could be relegated in favour of ethnic considerations. Thus,the proliferation of trade unions in the 1950s were largely accounted for by ethnic consideration,shoddy leadership styles and greed for material gain. Kilby(1969) has rightly indicated that "it is a rare instance of union dissension or disintegration where either tribalism or personal competition between paid officials is not to be observed". Authenticating the prevalence of rivalry between union officials, the Labour Ministry official report stated that:

> the projection of personal antagonism between union officials and members of management in the sphere of individual relations was,as in the past,an unfortunate cause of trade disputes in the country. The inability on the part of some trade union leaders

> to distinguish between personalities and principles invariably found expression in union backed demands for the removal of senior management officials on grounds such as intimidation, oppression and subversive activities against the union (see Ministry of Labour Annual Report 1957-8 paragraph 100).

The trade unions which sprang up during this period include,the All Nigerian Trade Union Federation (ANTUF) formed in 1950. Trade Union Congress(1959); the United Labour Congress formed in Ibadan in 1962 and its arch rival, the Independent United Labour Congress formed the same day. Between 1962 and 1964 more trade organizations emerged on the already congested labour scene. Three central labour organizations,the Nigerian Trade Union Congress(NTUC), the Nigerian Workers Council (NWC) and the Labour Unity Front (LUF) emerged in addition to the United Labour Congress(see Onokerhoraye,1984)

Thus,in 1975 there were 1870 registered trade unions many of them minute ,while in a number of industries several unions operated(see Arnold,1977).Most of these unions were affiliated to one of the big union federations.The largest union,the United Labour Congress(ULC) with membership of 400,000 was affiliated to ICFTU, while the Nigerian Trade Union Congress with a membership of 300,000 was affiliated to the WFTU. The Federal Government sensing the destabilizing potential of unions divided along ideological lines,appointed an administrator to unify these unions (see Eze,1981 p. 83). Murtala's government decreed in late 1975 that foreign trade union organizations and their secretariats,apart from

the ILO and the Organization of African Trade unions,were banned from activities in Nigeria(see Arnold,1977). The four central labour organizations,the Nigerian Trade Union Congress(NTUC),the Nigerian Workers Council (NWC),the Labour Unity Front(LUF) and the United Labour Congress (ULC) were dissolved in 1978 and thenceforth,decree NO. 21 of 1978 gave recognition to one central trade union,the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC). The Nigerian Labour Congress comprises 42 industrial unions. Positions in the local as well as the national central labour organization are elective. The Nigerian Labour Congress is highly decentralized to cater to the interests of workers at the grassroots level. In this respect, there is in each state, an executive council,a secretariat and representatives of national departments. At the grassroots level there are local executive councils,the congress secretariat and advisory committees. At the national level the affairs of the congress is managed by two bodies, the Congress in Session and the National Executive Council. The Congress in Session constitutionally meets once or twice a year, although there is provision for emergency meetings as situations may demand.

The National Executive Council, which is made up of elected officers, usually wields supreme authority over all labour issues. The Congress in Session usually delegates authority to the national executive council to handle all national issues, while the National Executive Council delegates power and responsibility to the State Executive Council to handle labour issues in the states. Correspondingly, the state delegates power and responsibility to

the local secretariat to handle all local labour problems.Despite the decentralization of the NLC,it has been everything but effective in handling labour problems. A labour activist, who wished to remain anonymous, noted that" the NLC is ineffective because its hands are tied by draconian decrees".The NLC has been walking a tight rope since its inception. Decrees have followed decrees in rapid succession particularly in military regimes. These decrees have obviously incapacitated the central labour organization.

LABOUR DECREES

Some of the labour decrees which have been promulgated over the years include the 1968 Labour Decree which made strikes, lockouts and any collective activity likely to disrupt work illegal. This decree abrogated any form of voluntarism in Nigerian industrial relations practice. Decree 31 of 1973 provided for the compulsory merger of unions. The Labour Decree of 1974 covered working conditions. The amendment to the Banking decree of 1975 specifically banned bankers from embarking on any industrial action that might financially sabotage the economy. The 1985 Emergency Fund Decree compulsorily deducts 15% from all workers salaries/wages. The 1986 Labour Decree placed an embargo on wage/salary increases,although there is general skepticism as to whether this decree also applied to the military, since several promotions (in rank) were made in the military recently.Labour Decree No. 2 of 1986 extricated the Academic Staff Union of

Universities from the fold of the NLC. Being the most enlightened union in the conglomeration, and a recent addition to the 42 industrial unions originally intended by government, government felt on a safer ground to ban the academics from membership of the NLC. Government even alleged that the academics were spreading leftists ideas in the NLC. These potentially revolutionary ideas,it went on ,were not in the best interest of the country.

Under the Labour Decree of 1968, the principle of voluntarism was discarded. The 1968 Decree stipulated that:when a dispute could not be amicably resolved,then within a week of the failure to resolve the dispute either of the parties involved was to publicly declare a trade dispute and notify the Commissioner of Labour of such a declaration. The Commissioner of Labour had wide discretionary powers to resolve the dispute as he deemed fit. The various stages in the resolution of a trade dispute under the 1968 Decree were, first, to appoint a conciliation system,then,refer the disputing parties to a board of inquiry and finally to an arbitration tribunal. The Labour Commissioner was not statutorily compelled to make a referral to the board of inquiry. He could take an arbitrary decision on the issues and the disputing parties were bound(by the stipulation of the decree) to comply. The refusal of either party to comply in such a circumstance is punishable either by fine or imprisonment or both.A 1969 amendment abrogated the right of workers to go on strike and the right of employers to lock out their employees before the notification of a declaration of trade dispute to the labour commissioner.

As the largest employer of labour, the government has an unequivocal motive to put the unions under control "and is deprived of much power it might otherwise wield as an impartial arbitrator"(see Arnold,1977). So long as political parties are banned government perceives the NLC as the only constituted body that could openly challenge its policies or even sabotage its efforts (by calling a strike). Therefore,the proliferation of restrictive legislation is a way of putting the NLC under check,apparently to prevent the calling of a strike action on any national issue. For example,during the last student demonstration (May 1986) police shot dead four students of the Ahmadu Bello University,Zaria. The chairman of the NLC,Alhaji Chiroma gave notice of a nation-wide sympathy strike for the fallen students.Before the strike could take place,the government hurriedly issued a statement declaring the planned strike illegal and infact went ahead to detain core officials of the NLC.

OFFICIAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY

The Morgan Commission Report of 1963-64 stands out forcefully as one of the catalysts in industrial relations under the civilian regime (see Otobo, 1986,for other commissions of inquiry). Apart from the effect it had on wages, the commission made far-reaching recommendations on the desirability of collective bargaining in industrial relations practice. These recommendations included, inter alia, the introduction of joint industrial councils in both private and public corporations. Industrial relations under

military administrations has brought government very deep into labour issues in what is now generally regarded as the interventionist approach. Under the interventionist approach,industrial relations practice is virtually determined by legislation. Strike actions have partly been associated with the mode of implementation of the recommendations of these commissions. For example,the implementation of the recommendations of Adebo Commission of Inquiry in 1971 led to a nation-wide strike. The Adebo Commission had recommended a wage/salary increase for only public servants with the clumsy provision that private employers could make similar awards in their various organizations if they deemed it fit. Most private employers were hesitant to initiate these awards in their organizations and this led to work to rule and eventually to a nation-wide strike action by private workers. The mode of implementation of the 1972 Public Service Review Commission's recommendations also sparked off a nation-wide strike. As Kirk-Greene and Rimmer (1981) vividly put it:

> As in 1971, the rise in remuneration for one section of employees led to strikes, demonstrations and violence among other sections,including on this ocassion,dissatisfied professional and technical staff in the public and statutory corporations as well as employees in the private sector, eventually a general application of the award was conceded.

It should be reiterated that wage/salary increases have mainly been determined by legislation, sometimes, to win political points or in response to workers' agitation for pay increase in order to restore

real earnings which have been eroded by inflation.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTOR LABOUR UNIONS.

The issue of dualism in the economy is also reflected in industrial relations practices. The majority of decrees are aimed at preventing union activities from disrupting government programmes. Being the biggest employer of labour in the country and also possessing the greatest number of industrial unions in the NLC,the government is especially determined to monitor, very closely, the activities of unions in the public sector. The government believes that if the principle of voluntarism was followed to the letter, the NLC, in one fell swoop, could paralise the entire economy by merely calling a nation-wide strike. The 1984 Labour Decree, which placed embargo on salary/wage increase, is one vivid example of a dualistic industrial relations practice in Nigeria. While the government did put a ceiling on salaries/wages in the public sector,there is no government organ,specifically delineated,to monitor the embargo on salary/wage increases in the private sector.In practice,wage/salary increases go on surreptitiously in the private sector. Even in the public sector,with apologies to George Orwell,some people are' more equal than others'.For example, the Public Relations Officer of the Nigerian Police Force in Lagos made a press statement in October 1986, where he alleged that the Nigerian Army was clandestinely increasing the salaries of military officers while other public workers were experiencing the embargo imposed on salary increases

(this allegation was later found to be true). The introduction of the Emergency Economic fund also depicted dualism in Nigeria's industrial relations practice .The Emergency Economic Fund, which deducts 15% from workers salaries, was started in the public sector for months before it was begun in the private sector. While the government used the check-off system to effectively implement this policy in the public sector,the success of this policy (in the private sector) solely depended on the honesty of individual private employers. Like the embargo on salary increases,there is no government unit assigned to ensure that 15% is compulsorily deducted from private emplyees OR that this money,once deducted,is actually sent to the public treasury. Up to the time of writing (October 11,1986) the government was still threatening to prosecute private employers who refused to send such deductions to the public treasury. This contrasts sharply with public employees who have been compulsorily contributing to the Economic Fund since its inception in December 1985. One other important fact in industrial relations practice in Nigeria is that most strike actions are directed against the government irrespective of sectoral base. The transport union ,for example,in 1986 protested frequent harassment of its members by the police. The strike action that ensued was not directed at their employers but at the government. When the government increased fuel prices in 1985, the same union embarked on a strike and eventually passed on the increase in fuel prices to commuters. When the Nigerian Medical Association was briefly proscribed in 1985 because it called a strike to protest the gross shortage of drugs in the country, the action was

directed at the government in spite of the fact that some of the executive members of the association e.g.,Dr.B.Ransome-Kuti,the then secretary general of the association, were not working for govern.ment. The explanation for these actions against the government is simply that government controls and regulates all aspects of the economy including, as it were,the importation of drugs and equipments for hospitals and clinics.Another peculiar feature of Nigerian industrial relations practice is the apparent ease with which private and non-governmental professional unions call a strike action. For example, if an employee in the private sector(a transport company) who happened to be the chairman of his industrial union, e.g.,(NURTW) Nigerian Union of Road Transport Workers, called a strike action in reaction to government's increase of fuel prices, he is invariably working towards increasing the profit margin of his employer. One could therfore say that private union officials work in the interest of their employers. To illustrate further,a government employee who happens to be an executive of a public union and does not exercise restraint in calling a strike action has, from experience, always faced the wrath of government.

When there is a labour problem in the private sector, it is not uncommon to involve an outside party to resolve such a problem.For example, if worker A is fired from his job, he could implore his tribal union officials or kinsmen to intervene on his behalf,to have him restored to his job. This local arbitration group will actually pick up a few local gift items (eg.kola nuts,gin and a

little cash) go to the employer and plead to have their kinsman reinstated to his job. In some cases, this method is sucessful; in other cases,it is not. Thus,it is not uncommon for those in the private sector to negotiate labour problems by relying on less structured, time-honoured indigenous arbitration methods. By contrast,the public sector attaches a ritualistic emphasis on arbitration procedures. For example, if a public worker is relieved of his job, the document terminating his appointment is prepared and sent to the headquarter of the ministry or corporation as the case may be. This headquarters may not necessarily be in the same state. Even if the headquarters is in the same state,very little can be done,either by union officials or an outside party to rescind such a decision.Labour legislation that is unfavourable is usually backed up by decrees. For example,when the Buhari Administration came to power in 1984,its determination to cut down on wasteful expenditure necessitated a massive retrenchment exercise in the public sector. Aware that it would be flooded with litigations by workers already fired,the government introduced a decree which rendered the law courts incapable of hearing law suits initiated against the government by its former employees (most of whom were dismissed on flimsy and sometimes fallacious grounds). At the moment ,the nation-wide retrenchment exercise is still on, and its victims are understandably confused since there is no forum to seek redress.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE NLC

The leadership of the NLC has come under severe criticism in recent times. These criticisms usually centre on tribalism, statism and petty rivalry among officials of the central labour organization. For example, the most draconian legislation dispossessing the NLC of its most potent weapon'the strike action' was introduced during the Buhari administration, but because the chairman of the NLC was from the same state as the then head of state, there was little or no reaction from the central labour organization. The moment the Buhari Administration was ousted in a military coup d'etat and Major General Ibrahim Babangida took over the mantle of leadership, the NLC threatened a strike action if the earlier decision to ban strike actions was not reverted. This latter move by the NLC was generally perceived to be parochial, tribalistic and not in the interest of labour. The move was seen as a reaction to the change of leadership,with the president coming from a state different from that of the chairman of the NLC. At various times, the NLC has been used by labour officials to achieve petty tribal motives. According to Umoh James Umoh, the labour columnist of the Daily Times:

> On May 10,1986 the NLC pressured the Ministry of labour to ban an African transport workers' seminar and conference which five industrial unions in the transport industry had intended to host. The NLC had hoped that the five transport unions would react bitterly to the ban on their conference and would

> sponsor industrial action to show their strong resentment and create confusion in the country.But leaders of the five transport unions as believers in democratic trade unionism, took the matter calmly. The transport unions did not organise any strike because they had no dispute with their employer and none with the government.

Thus, internal rivalry has further weakened an organization that is already firmly chained by restrictive legislations (decrees). The leaders of the NLC have proved to be more concerned about their selfish interests rather than the interest of the working people. According to Umoh James Umoh (Daily Times August,1986)"the real Nigerian workers have no say in the affairs of the congress. Frustrated and disappointed, three thirds of industrial unions withdrew their support and loyalty from the NLC and stopped paying dues to the congress".

Because of the aforementioned factors,the worker's loyalty to his union is considerably reduced. The petty rivalry and tribalism within the union give the worker adequate rationale to distance himself from union activities. He is of the union but not necessarily with it. He may attend meetings but does not necessarily get involved beyond superficialities. By contrast,the worker is deeply involved and devoted to his tribal union (a simulation of village communal groups earlier discussed). Tribal organizations are parallel organizations which exist in many urban

centres and are open to public or private employees. Once loyalty was betrayed by the central labour organization and other public unions, workers shifted and reinforced their loyalty to the tribal organizations existing in urban centres. These tribal groups in the urban centres satisfy the nostalgic yearnings of togetherness reminiscent of village life. Yesufu (1958) has vividly described the role of tribal unions in towns:

> The worker's tribal organization or improvement union in the town provides benefits, in desperate cases financially assists those who want to get married, pays the burial expenses of a deceased parent, makes a present on the ocassion of the birth of a new baby,honours the worker elevated to a chieftaincy,and repatriates the destitute. Some tribal organizations award scholarships to the young educated worker or the children of others. In a tribal union, for example, the worker can speak and be spoken to in a language he understands well, against a background of customs and traditions which he comprehends.Those with whom he has to deal give him that due personal respect to which the African attaches too much importance. In one word, the worker feels that in the gathering of his tribal organization, he truly belongs.In the trade union meeting on the other hand, matters are often discussed against an industrial and economic background which the worker hardly understands. The secretary of a trade union may be

> from a different tribe and if in addition he belongs to a rival political party, all the seeds of failure have been sown (see Kilby,1969 p.297).

Before bringing this chapter to a close,it is pertinent to recount some of the main points made in it. It was noted that the number and membership of trade unions have considerably increased over the years. The internal rivalries which gave rise to four splinter central trade unions, from which the NLC emerged as the solely recognized central trade union, are still very much the bane of the present NLC. Of particular significance and relevance to the theme of this thesis is the dualism in industrial relations practice and its implication for work attitudes in both sectors of the economy. In this regard, I highlighted the promptness with which government compulsorily deducted 15% of public employees salaries by the check off system, whereas there was no effective measure to ensure prompt contribution by private employees. Another index of dualism in industrial relations practice is the embargo on wage/salary increases in the public sector (although it has recently been discovered that the military increased their salaries within this period), while wage/salary increases surreptitiously go on in the private sector. There was also mention of the informal procedure of resolving labour problems in the private sector, a procedure for which there is no room in the structure of public organizations. In this regard, I gave a hypothetical example of a private worker who is fired and on whose behalf his kinsmen or tribal group meets his employer and pleads

for his reinstatement. The decree forbiding public employees from suing the government if they are fired, for whatever reason,was also mentioned in contrast to private employees who may sue their employers if they are wrongfully dismissed. The undue restraint public employees exercised in union matters, in contrast to private employees was also highlighted. The mixed loyalty the worker (private or public) has to his trade union in comparison to his urban tribal union was discussed. I shall now briefly examine psychological and management theories of work motivation and how they may relate to the theme of this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MANAGEMENT THEORIES OF WORK MOTIVATION

Psychological and management theories of work motivation are relevant to the theme of this thesis because attitudes are formed in the objective circumstance of an organization, where elements of psychological and management theories prominently feature. In attempting to understand work attitudes, therefore, we must first examine the organizational structure and assess, in particular, the incentive schemes deployed to influence attitudes in the direction intended by the organization. To illustrate,the management of a particular organization may intend to promote positive work attitudes (with a view to increasing productivity) by awarding salary increases to its workers. If this particular monetary incentive scheme consistently fails to produce the desired result (i.e., positive work attitudes and an eventual increase in production), then either the organizational structure or the incentive scheme (or both) need(s) changing.

Elements of psychological and management theories of motivation have featured prominently in Nigerian public organizations over the years. Official commissions of inquiry have consistently recommended salary increases as a potent stimulant of positive attitudes and increasing production. These recommendations, which were zealously implemented ,failed to produce the anticipated results. As Arnold(1977:118)concluded "It is doubtful whether Udoji (one of the

commissions of inquiry) awards solved anything. All they did was contribute in a major way to inflation." Thus,taking public organizational incentive scheme (with emphasis on its appropriateness or lack of it), as my central premise, I intend, first, to examine some prominent management and psychological theories, highlighting some defects which arguably produce unintended adverse effects in the Nigerian organizational context. As a first step I intend to review literatures of management theories, viz., scientific management theory, administrative management theory, human relations theory, theories of bureaucracy and neo-human relations theory, with particular emphasis on Maslow's needs theory. It should be borne in mind that these theories do not necessarily fall along a continuum. Scientific management theory ,for example, is distinct from theories of bureaucracy. Scientific management theory portrays man as essentially mechanistic and a handy tool to be manipulated by management, while theories of bureaucracy imply that the rationality of man lies in the cautious selection between means and ends in organizational circumstances. There may be common elements between these theories because some emerged as reactions to others (e.g., human relations theory emerged as a reaction to scientific management theory), but they differ in emphasis.Second,I intend to criticise these theories, pointing out their applicability or lack of it in the particular Nigerian social context. Finally, suggestions will be proffered towards modifying the present Nigerian public organizational structure. I shall now discuss the scientific management theory. This theory is relevant to the theme of this thesis because some salient elements of the

theory, e.g., stipulating standard time for the completion of particular tasks, selecting particular persons for certain jobs etc., are present and crucial in the determination of work organization in some of the companies I investigated (e.g.,the iron and steel company,Aladja). Thus, it is important to review this literature, highlighting its shortcomings as well as its implications for the theme of this thesis.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT THEORY

Optimum production and the efficient utilization of physical and human resources are the themes of scientific management. Taylor(1947), believed that by scientific measurement of work, time study, selection of the right worker for the job and establishment of an appropriate wage,workers' efficiency would be enhanced. Taylor's aim was to break up work processes by defining a standard time for each operation. Taylor(1947), later modified his theory to suit management's conception of employees. He felt it was easier to convince management that economic motives played the central role in workers lives, since this assumption conformed with management's conception of employees. The assumptions implicit in Taylor's theory are explicitly expressed in McGregor's theory X.McGregor(1960) clarified the following assumptions in theory X:1.the average human being has an inherent dislike for work and, therefore, must be coerced,controlled, directed and threatened with punishment to get him to exert adequate effort towards the achievement of organizational goals, and 2.the average human being

prefers to be directed,avoids responsiblity, has relatively little ambition and wants security above all. Conversely, the major assumption in McGregor's theory Y is that man likes work and is prepared to accept responsibility.

Taylor's(1947) theory has been criticised for its mechanistic conception of human behaviour (see Rose,1975). The ideological loading of Taylor's theory has also been criticised. The social philosophy rather than the techniques of scientific management became a part of prevailing managerial ideology. Bendix (1956:287), for example, has noted that"they (employers) could adopt any or all of Taylor's devices, and they could advocate cooperation between capital and labour, without accepting the idea that they must submit the management of their enterprise to the results of scientific study." Others saw incentives as a useful means of manipulation and control but were not prepared to undertake the preliminary 'scientific work'that was a necessary basis to any such scheme (also see Rose, 1975).

The managerial bias of this theory together with its mechanistic conception of human behaviour imply its inapplicability to the Nigerian organizational context. This social particularity (e.g.,co-operation in rural projects) behoves us to devise a more humane (or appropriate) organizational structure and practice in order to elicit the cooperation of workers to work towards organizational goals. It is only under such 'humane'organizational circumstances that workers would feel a sense of belonging to the objectives of

the organization. However, as I shall illustrate below, many of the features of scientific management have been instituted in public work organization in Nigeria with deleterious consequences for worker motivation.

ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT THEORY

While the implied structure of administrative management theory may not necessarily produce such proposed humane organizational features, the proponents of this theory, Fayol (1948) and Gulick(1937), took a much broader perspective than Taylor.Apart from examining task efficiency, they also promulgated some general principles of organization and management (c.f.,Beach,1981). Some of these principles which include the specialization of functions and division of labour and the cordination of these functions and people by management, tend to overlap with characteristics of bureaucracy. Some of these general principles abound in public organizations in NIgeria. For example, the job description of a graduate worker in the Nigerian Ministry of Works clearly delineates the responsibility and authority of each officer in this cadre. This document also stipulates that orders ,information and complaints should flow along the chain of command. Thus, the principles on which Nigerian public job descriptions are based are similar to the general priciples of management enunciated by Fayol (1948) and Gulick (1937). This is the main point of convergence between administrative theory and the theme of this thesis.

BUREAUCRACY

The concept of bureaucracy is of utmost relevance to this thesis because it is generally believed in Nigeria that the characteristic rigidity of the present bureaucratic structure is responsible for the persistence of negative work attitudes in the public sector. The point should be reiterated that for the purpose of this thesis, bureaucratic red tape,corruption,etc.,are highlighted mainly because they are the products of negative work attitudes.Other problems of bureaucracy (e.g., access, participation,etc.,) which do not represent indices of negative work attitudes have also been discussed in the literature on public administration. How to enhance the efficiency of bureaucracy has remained a major concern of scholars in public administration. Scholars in this field have generally identified centralization as a problem of bureaucracy(see Ademolekun and Rowlands, 1979). Luke(1986:78), for example,has indicated that "the tendency for policy making to be highly centralized is recognized as a major constraint in public administration."Access i.e.,who gets what and in what relation between people,(see Schaffer,1982b) and participation (or lack of it) have also been highlighted as problems of bureaucracy(see Schaffer,1969,1982b). Schaffer(1974) has suggested training and manpower development as ways of enhancing the efficiency of bureaucray. Decentralization has generally been proposed as a way of increasing the access and participation in bureaucratic structures (see Conyers,1981;Rondinelli, 1983;Cheema and Rondinelli,1983). According to Smith (1986:462),"every element in a system of decentralization can if properly designed, make a contribution to ensure that a greater share of the benefits of state intervention go

to the rural poor." Thus, decentralization was to facilitate access and particpation in order to enhance the efficiency of public administration. However, the point should be highlighted that decentralization, as a way of improving the efficiency of public administration, " has generally not been successful (see Oberst, 1986:163)." I shall now briefly examine some of the problems that are germane to the Nigerian bureaucracy.

At repeated intervals, the present and previous military governments have decried bureaucratic red tape in the country's public service. Anecdotal evidence supports this prevailing image of bureaucratic'red-tapism'. Sometimes, it takes a month for a file to progress from one table to the next within the same office. The author, for example, spent three months in the summer of 1986 attempting to remit his school fees through the Nigerian Central Bank to England. A Briton remitting money from London to Lagos could have done it for a mere two hours. A shorter time, if it were by telegrahic transfer. The functionaries of the Nigerian bureaucracy deliberately slow down laid- down procedures, so as to create impatience in the minds of government clients. Once people become impatient, they become desperate, and can go to any length(including offering bribes) to have their way. This is one way in which the Nigerian bureaucracy encourages bribery and corruption.

The potency of bureaucracy lies with the characteristics of its structure, which include an impersonally administered system of rules, a clear-cut division of labour and a high degree of

specialization, a hierarchy of offices, the employment and assignment of positions based on qualifications and the extensive use of records,documents and files. Bureaucratic control is usually vested in top positions and relations between superordinates and subordinates are predominantly ones of command and obedience. Although Max Weber did not coin the term bureaucracy(see Albrow, 1970), the genesis of the study of bureaucratic organization is now largely attributed to him.This is understandably due to the fact that Weber sought to neutralize the pejorative connotation of the term by devising an analytic concept of the 'ideal type'of bureaucracy. Weber's ideal type is a framework which in essence attempts to predict the relation between means and outcomes in organizations.

Despite its seemingly all-encompasing attributes,Weber's model of bureucracy has been heavily criticised. For example, Weber's younger brother, Alfred Weber(1948)has also indicated that hierarchism in bureaucratic decision-making makes those in lower positions generally powerless. According to him,bureaucratic centralization also has the further consequence of discouraging individual initiative in the development of new ideas and practice in the organization.

Gouldner(1954) has also developed the Weberian paradigm by emphasizing the dialectical nature of bureaucratic rules. Gouldner(1954),has noted that the effectiveness of bureaucracy will vary depending on whether rules are established by

imposition(punishment centred) or agreement(representative). Gouldner(1954:21) noted that "Weber's distinction between imposed and agreed-upon rules is indicative of these two broad strands which are woven together in his theory." The distinction between imposed and agreed-upon rules is particularly relevant to the central argument of this thesis. Rules in public organizations are imposed from above (the top hierarchy of the organization) and this has adverse consequences for work attitudes in this sector because public workers find it difficult to identify with these rules which they did not participate in formulating and which largely undermine the values which underlie their indigenous lifestyles. By contrast, rules are relatively agreed-upon in private organizations because rules are shaped with consideration for workers' value orientations. This fusion of organizational rules with the value orientations of workers tend to influence positive work attitudes in this sector.

According to Gouldner among others Weber's bureaucratic model failed to acknowledge the existence (indeed the vital role) of the informal structure of the organization. In many if not most organizations, the informal structure is a key determinant of work motivation and attitudes. For example, when the author was working in a local government office after graduating from high school, there was a formal rule that compelled all latecomers to sign a special register. This was specifically designed to deter workers from coming late to work.Within a few months four bulky registers were filled with virtually all the names of workers in the office. Thus, the lateness register as a deterent devise failed woefully.

Workers in the office then came up with an informal rule that could deter potential latecomers. It was decided that any worker who came late (even a minute after the hour of eight was considered lateness) would by the terms of the informal rule, polish all the shoes worn by workers on that particular day. It worked like magic. Apart from a few latecomers in the first few weeks of imposing the rule, the rate of punctuality among workers was dramatically improved . This is one vivid example of how the informal structure may be more decisive (than the formal structure) in influencing worker attitudes.

Building on the work of Merton (1943),Selznick (1948,1952)saw the core dilemma in bureaucracy as a consequence of the need for the delegation of power to organizational subsystems. The increasing complexity of organizational tasks makes delegation of responsibility to intermediaries inevitable. Such measures can only accentuate (in a Mertonian sense) the organizational paradox of goal displacement, based on division of interests between the central system and its decentralized sub-units. There is a tendency for the latter to subordinate organizational goals to their own immmediate goals or interests. This situation makes the need for organizational control stronger and perpetrates a vicious cycle. Similarly, Fox(1974), sees bureaucracies as paranoiagenic institutions because,according to him, their structures are unresponsive to the values of workers. In place of confidence and trust these bureaucratic structures breed mistrust and weaken

social bonds. It is generally believed that the Nigerian bureaucracy breeds mistrust between ethnic groups (particularly the three major ones). While the bureaucratic model implies that employment should be based on merit, succesive Nigerian governments have openly or covertly advocated a quota system whereby the major ethnic groups could be equally represented in public organizations. Thus, merit could be, and has on several occasions been (under the quota system), sacrificed for equality of ethnic representation. Under the quota system mere geographical or ethnic background allows some persons to assume positions for which they are not qualified. This practice, which might,arguably,be politically expedient, breeds ethnic mistrust which undoubtedly affects workers' morale.

Talcott Parsons in his editorial introduction to Weber (1947) drew attention to the possible conflict which might arise between a bureaucratic authority derived from technical expertise and that derived from persons occupying a position of authority. To the extent that these do not coincide other members of the organization will not know who to obey, the person with the right to command or the person with the greater expertise. The constraints which bureaucracy imposes on individual liberty have also been highlighted. Michels(1945), while enumerating some of the demerits of bureaucracy, noted that dependence on superior authority suppresses individuality and stifles intiative. Scholars in the psychoanalytic tradition have also offered their share of criticisms. Diamond(1984), for example, has highlighted the domineering tendencies of bureaucratic characteristics. According

to him, bureaucratic hierarchism with its top to bottom lines of command inadvertently facilitates a tendency towards dependency and containment. Another member of the psychoanalytic school, Hummel (1977), has also indicated that bureaucracy de-socializes people.Human affection that should be derived from a co-operative and satisfying work experience is curtailed by the restrictive features of a bureaucracy.

Albrow(1970) provides a tripartite classification of bureaucracy as (a) a rule by officials (b)bureaucracy as a rational organization and (c)organizational inefficiency. The last usage of the word focuses on negative aspects of bureaucracy such as red tape,complex organizational procedures and inefficiency. Some of the dysfunctions of bureaucracy have been similarly summarized by Watson(1945). He noted that bureaucracy tends towards over-specialization; to be bound by rigid rules and procedures;to be stupid, blundering and slow and to encourage buck-passing, empire-building, political favouritism and the curtailment of democratic rights. Likewise, Merton (1952:361) has offered perhaps the most comprehensive criticism of bureaucracy. He, for example, argued that:

> Bureaucratic emphasis on precision and reliability may well have self-defeating consequences. Rules designated as means to ends, may well become ends in themselves. The graded career structure of the bureaucrat may encourage him to an excess of the virtues he is supposed to embody: prudence, discipline

and method (also see Albrow,1970 p.55).

Similarly, Warren(1973) has argued that bureaucracy does not adequately allow for the personal growth and development of mature personalities because it develops conformity (group think). Because of the restrictiveness of bureaucratic structures on personal initiative, he went even further to predict a time range of 25-30 years within which we shall witness a novel stage, namely the demise of bureaucracy.

Access and/or participation (or lack of them) are generally mentioned as problems confronting third world bureaucracies. Schaffer (1969) went a step ahead of other scholars by highlighting the existence of a 'deadlock'even within the context of decentralization. Decentralization is mainly to increase access or community involvement in development projects. Grassroots (or community) values differ from those implicit in the decentralized structures. These people draw on indigenous work values which tend, in the long run, to assert their autonomy within the decentralized structure. A deadlock results from the choice between allowing indigenous peoples sufficient autonomy to draw on their values or to make them surbodinate to the values implicit in the decentralized structue. The theme of this thesis suggests the former proposition as a better way of stimulating positive work attitudes in public employment. I shall now examine how the concept of bureaucracy relates to the theme of this thesis.

Bureaucracy as an implied theory of motivation possesses features which are assumed to be potent enough to sufficiently motivate workers in the direction of organizational goals. The Nigerian bureaucracy was set up during the colonial era to facilitate colonial administration. The collection of revenues, the maintenance of law and order, the building of a solid base for cash crop production, were all tasks to which colonial bureaucracy was especially tailored. Although colonial bureaucracy served these purposes very well, Nicolson(1977:218) has noted that" Lugard's administration was characterized by excessive centralization and the absence of delegated authority". The excessive centralization of the Nigerian bureaucracy begun by Lord Lugard and now perpetrated by Nigerians, in combination with other dysfunctions which characterize the Nigerian bureaucracy (e.g.,red tape, rigidity,inability to use personal initiative, etc.), contribute to negative attitudes in this sector. Negative work attitudes are so pervasive that they have been generally likened to a canker-worm tearing the national fabric apart. Proposals to solve this problem have featured prominently in the speeches of various heads of state. For example,General Olusegun Obasanjo in the famous Jaji declaration of 1977 stated that:

> this administration has tried to reshape and redirect the society since its inception in 1975. Although we have achieved a halt to the drift of the past, it was not yet a clean break. We started with retirements from the public sector with the hope that new lessons will be learnt and new attitudes cultivated. The popular acclamation which the exercise received from

> the public accentuated our hopes, but after a short time, the hope receded(see Akpan,1982:178).

The present Nigerian government, headed by Major General Ibrahim Babangida, has publicly called for the development of a new work ethic for public workers. The present leadership is perhaps the most broad minded to date in discussions regarding the problems of the country's bureaucracy. In this regard, the government has taken the first step to highlight red tape as one of the organizational vices that has literally crippled government establishments. Listing the number of constraints in the way of Nigeria's industrialization, Kirk-Greene and Rimmer(1981) noted that:

> Manufacturing seems peculiarly exposed to bureaucratic impediments.With reference to industrial policies, the third national development plan categorically deplored 'unnecessary restriction and administrative bottlenecks'.In particular,the multiplicity of authorities, from which various permits, licenses, etc., have to be assembled and the lack of streamlined procedure for getting them.

The Nigerian bureaucracy is therefore,beset with a multiplicity of problems. Some of these aforementioned problems emanate from its rigid structure.

The major assumption behind the Nigerian bureaucracy is that strictly material incentives, such as promotions and pay increases, will effectively motivate workers. Informal organizations within the bureaucratic framework are discouraged and largely ignored where

they exist. By contrast private organizations encourage informal organizations. Informal organizations generally emphasize values and norms that are not prescribed by the formal organization. Informal organizations are sustained by cognate values which workers bring from the larger environment.In Nigerian private organizations, for example, the special deference with which supervisors often treat elderly persons may not be part of the organizational rules, but, because respect for elders is highly valued in the larger society, such values come to be reflected in the organization. In the private sector, informal social relations are strengthened by support group activities. By contrast and consistent with Rose's (1979) observation of French bureaucracy,organizational regulations suppress face to face informality in government establishments (also see Crozier,1964). Informal organizations are generally discouraged in government circles because they are perceived as attempts to undermine the formal structure of the organization. Since rural work values govern the pattern of informal organizations in the private sector and because informal support groups are recognized and encouraged by the formal organizational structure in the private sector, I assume that some of the rural work values will over time permeate and become part of the formal organizational structure. To the extent that the organization incorporates work values from the larger society,workers will be positively disposed to their work in the organization. As Shils (1951) rightly noted, organizations sometimes enjoy high morale and personal commitment among their members, coming in part from the congruence of the goals of the management and the norms of small groups within the organization.

This detailed discussion of the shortcomings of bureaucracy was necessary because, as I shall later hypothesize, some of these faults e.g.,over-centralization, inability to use personal initiative, etc., contribute substantially to the resilience of negative work attitudes in the Nigerian public sector. I shall now examine the Human Relations School. Human relations theory is germane to the theme of this thesis because it possesses features which are similar to the values inherent in communitarian work organizations which, I have argued, influence work attitudes in urban employment sectors. One such similarity is the importance attached to group solidarity in the acomplishment of organizational tasks. Some of the organizations in our study (e.g.,the mechanic workshop) are sustained mainly by values which relate to intergroup co-operation. A technician in the mechanic workshop,for example, cannot afford all the tools of his trade. Therefore, he must live on the goodwill of other technicians (within the workshop) by borrowing relevant tools from them. No group of technicians can possibly survive independently of other groups (either in terms of tools or basic repair skills).

HUMAN RELATIONS SCHOOL

Human relations theory is germane to the theme of this thesis because it possesses features which are similar to the values inherent in communitarian work organizations which, I have argued,

influence work attitudes in urban employment sectors. One such similarity is the importance attached to group solidarity in the acomplishment of organizational tasks. Some of the organizations in our study (e.g.,the mechanic workshop) are sustained mainly by values which relate to intergroup co-operation.A technician in the mechanic workshop, for example, cannot afford all the tools of his trade. Therefore, he must live on the goodwill of other technicians (within the workshop) by borrowing relevant tools from them. No group of technicians can possibly survive independently of other groups (either in terms of tools or basic repair skills).

The human relations school purports to be a reaction to the scientific management theory. Its focus is on human relations in industry and how these relations affect work productivity. Re-discovered (because Pareto,Durkheim and Friedman had made similar points) in the Hawthorne study (Roethlisberger and Dickson,1939) was the role of norms and sanctions among informal groups of workers in determining output. Human relations tended to swing away from the emphasis on individual and financial incentives and concentrated attention on the role of work groups.

The psychologistic and ideological undertones of this theory have been often criticised. Kempner and Wills(1970) have suggested that human relations is more of 'a point of view' than an operational concept. What is termed co-operation from the stand point of the organization is in fact, participation from the viewpoint of employees.It would seem, therefore, to constitute a management

perspective which has implications for employee participation. Watson (1978) has equally noted that human relations encouraged an approach as psychologistic as Taylor's. It has done this through its emphasis on the development of supervisory skills at the lower levels within management and by diverting attention away from structural, technological or economic conflict issues,to ones of communication. How individuals relate to each other is seen as more important than the way their economic, social or work task relationships are structured. Apart from human relations'denial of an underlying economic conflict of interests, the Hawthorne investigations themselves have been re-examined and found wanting on numerous methodological and theoretical grounds (see Carey,1967).

However, despite its shortcomings human relations theory does raise a crucial point. The shift of emphasis from the individual to the group as the determinant of production level, implies that group solidarity or co-operation is invaluable for the enhancement of the level or efficiency of production. While the Hawthorne group was manipulated by management (see Rose,1975), the groups which, for example, make up the mechanic workshop (one of the organizations studied) are not in a similar organizational context. The groups which constitute the mechanic workshop do not have internal stratification such as management on the one hand and workers on the other. These groups are relatively homogenous in the sense that, apart from the headman,every person in each group is of equal rank. Co-operation between the various groups within the workshop is more or less a tradition which has evolved over the years.A technician

from Group A borrows a spanner from Group B; a welder from Group B helps with some intricate welding job in Group C. All members of Groups A and B join hands to bring down the engine of a big truck to be serviced in Group C. Thus, co-operation has also been an expedient business strategy which has guaranteed the economic survival of the mechanic workshop. The co-operative urge is not thrust on these workers from above, rather co-operation is generated from among these workers themselves.

We would expect human relations theory to be relevant in understanding the attitudes of Nigerian workers. The argument is hereby reiterated that work group solidarity (what Roethlisberger and Dickson called the phenomenon of social organization), the kernel of human relations theory, is also a core feature of rural organizations. But, unlike the human relations theory the norms governing village groups are generally considered 'rational'.

A village community is usually replete with several solidary groups, e.g., village construction group, vigilante group,etc. These are all task groups which are formed to perform specific functions in the community. Membership in these groups is obligatory for young persons, because they are very crucial socialization agencies in which traditional values (including work values) are learned. These groups possess loose hierarchical structures in the sense that leadership is not sacrosanct but rotatory. For example,among the Urhobos of Abraka in the delta region of Nigeria, this rotatory leadership is an age-old tradition. Kingship among

these people is rotated from one section of the clan to another. There is no permanent royal family. Members of a rural organization traditionally receive encouragement to exercise initiative in task-related matters. Relationships within these groups are highly personal. Interaction outside of the work situation is intense because everyone knows everyone else. Work-mates exchange visits regularly. Among these people there is an overwhelming tradition of collective sharing in the joys and predicaments of village members. Group solidarity, a sense of collective responsibility, is a pre-eminent value in rural cosmogony. This gregarious proclivity is equally a salient ingredient in rural socialization.Collaborative work,therefore,is a way of life because it derives from and reinforces the existential base of the village community. Through these work groups, rural youngsters come to learn rural work values that have been passed on from generation to generation by the much talked about oral tradition. Since these rural work values are sufficiently internalized by the time the rural migrant leaves the village to the urban centre, it is argued that these rural values influence their attitudes in urban employment.

While these management theories tend to portray an idyllic image of organizations as essentially serene, the reality of organizations indicate that conflict between employees and management is inevitable. This note of organizational realism is the central theme of the structuralist school. This school is so-called because it specifically recognized the potential conflict that exists between members of the different hierarchical structures in an organization.

THE STRUCTURALIST SCHOOL

This school is a synthesis of the classical and human relations schools with additional references to the works of Karl Marx and Max Weber. Structuralist writers have recognized the organizational dilemma of the inevitable strain between organizational needs and personal needs, between rationality and non-rationality,between discipline and autonomy, and between formal and informal relations. Etzioni(1964:4) has indicated that the structuralists see the organization as a :

> complex social unit in which many groups interact. The various groups might co-operate in some spheres and compete in others; but they hardly are, or can become, one big happy family as human relations' writers often imply. Two groups within the organization whose interests frequently come into conflict are management and the workers.

The structuralists have suggested that the strain between labour and management may be reduced but cannot altogether be eliminated. This provides a note of realism to any expectations raised by this study. One of the arguments made in this thesis is that conflict exists between workers' values (orientations) and the values implicit in public organizational structures. The non-resolution of this value conflict, it is further argued, exercabates negative work attitudes in the public sector. It is against this background that structuralist theory is relevant to the theme of this thesis.

I shall now examine some psychological theories of work motivation. These psychological theories are relevant to the theme of this thesis in a number of ways. Psychological needs'theory, for example,sensitizes us to the fact that the urge to satisfy a need (e.g.,food ,esteem,shelter, etc.) is a major motivating force behind human behaviour. As plausible as need theory may seem,the interpretations of need satisfaction may differ across social contexts. A nuclear family of four in England ,for example, may comfortably say that they have met their need for food once there is a steady flow of income from which the four persons would feed. It is not the same in Nigeria where the word family invariably means the extended family, and where the satisfaction of the need for food embraces not only your immediate family but remote members of your extended family. It is this difference in interpretation as a result of contrasting social contexts that makes the psychological theories especially relevant to the theme of this thesis. My intention is not to refute what has been said but to add a significant modification, namely that the interpretation of need satisfaction does vary from one social context to the other and that, therefore, close attention must be paid to social contexts in order to understand and explain such variability.

NEO-HUMAN RELATIONS SCHOOL

Psychological theorists of work motivation are frequently described as constituting the neo-human relations school. These writers include Maslow, McGregor, Likert, Argyris, Blake, Herzberg,

Gellerman etc. Watson (1978:38) referred to these writers as 'behavioural entrepreneurs'because to him, their work was designed 'for sale', whether in the form of books, management seminars, training films or consultancies:

> like the task-splitting scientific managers with whom they so passionately take issue, their work is reductionist, partial, evangelistic and sociologically inadequate on the explanatory level, with its underplaying of structural, political, situational, cultural and economic factors. It is ultimately simplistic, but by a judicious mixing of simplistic assumptions and pseudo-scientific jargon, it has made itself highly marketable.

The psychologists who together constitute the neo-human relationists, like their predecessors, built their theories around the assumptions that management holds about workers. Their message according to Klein (1976) is what managers now expect from social scientists. It is a brave social scientist who says social science is not necessarily about participative leadership. It is pertinent at this juncture to examine the main themes in the works of these writers.

Psychological research on work motivation includes both content and process approaches. The content approach examines the nature of needs in people and how these needs may motivate people to behave in specific ways. Content theories of motivation focus on what arouses

behaviour. These theories implicitly accept the principle of homeostasis. Behaviour is mainly motivated by the desire to restore equilibrium by satisfying a specific need. When an individual is hungry, the body of that individual is in a state of disequilibrium, and he must eat in order to restore equilibrium. A need is thus defined as an aroused state that motivates one to satisfy that state. Hunger is an example of a primary need,and the possession of a job is an illustrative means to satisfy this need.

Two of the most popular content theories are Maslow's (1954) needs hierarchy theory and Herzberg's (1966) two-factor hygiene theory. Maslow's (1954) theory has had a major influence on all other content theorists. Maslow indicated that human needs are hierarchically arranged in order of importance from physiological needs at the bottom, through safety, love, and esteem to self-actualization needs at the top of the hierarchy.According to Maslow once a need is satisfied it ceases to be important, and subsequent behaviour is directed at satisfying the need in the next step of the hierarchy. Maslow cautiously qualified this supposedly general theory of behaviour by noting the need to investigate modifying factors, including the role of association, habit, conditioning and the relation between needs and cultural patterns. This important caution has been blatantly ignored by several of those writers who belong to this school. Consistent with Maslow, Argyris (1959) has also propounded his own version of the needs theory along the lines laid-down by Maslow's pioneering work on human needs hierarchy.

Deriving his ideas from,and explicitly acknowledging Maslow's (1954) work, McGregor (1960) came out with theories X and Y. Briefly stated, theory X assumes that man dislikes work and must be coerced to work. Conversely, theory Y is based on the assumption that man man has an inherent interest in work and is willing to accept responsibility. McGregor's(1960) theory X is based on some bizarre assumptions of human nature. According to Guest and Fatchett (1974) the only acceptable assumption of theory X is that management has a basic right to organize the enterprise to pursue economic goals. Maslow himself had considerable sympathy for McGregor's work. At one point he even suggested that it should be called fact X and fact Y. Concerning the validity of McGregor's assumptions Maslow(1965:54) commented that:

> If there is insufficient grounding for a firm and final trust in theory Y management philosophy,there is even less firm evidence for theory X.

The most interesting and revealing criticism of McGregor's work came from Maslow(1965:55) in his discussion 'eupsychian management,'where he noted that:

> A good deal of the evidence upon which McGregor based his work comes from my researches and my papers on motivation, self actualization, etc. But I, of all people, should know just how shaky this foundation is,as a final foundation. My work on motivation comes from the clinic, from the study of neurotic people. The carry-over of this theory to the industrial situation has some support from industrial studies,

> but certainly I would like to see a lot more studies of this kind, before feeling convinced that this carry-over from the study of neurosis to the study of labour in factories is legitimate.

Herzberg's (1959,1966) two-factor hygiene theory distinguished between intrinsic and extrinsic job factors and argued that only intrinsic factors can motivate people. The significance attached to intrinsic factors in the motivation of workers is particularly relevant to the theme of this thesis. As I have earlier argued,intrinsic factors (which basically means the challenges the job possesses) tend to influence positive work attitudes in the private sector. Since workers in the private sector are given ample opportunities to employ their discretion in solving organizational problems, they perceive the job as challenging and tend to identify with organizational goals unlike public workers who are comparatively uncommitted to organizational goals because the structure of public organizations tend to stifle personal initiative. The caution given by Maslow that it is imperative to consider peculiar cultural patterns in the application of the needs' theory tends to strengthen the misgivings I have of its applicability to the particular Nigerian social context. Thus, it should be emphasized that needs' theory was derived with respect to a particular social context and must be modified if it is to be successfully applied in a social context quite distinct from the one in which it originated. This is the essence of the cautionary clause which Maslow incorporated into the theory. In the Nigerian social

context ,for example, human needs are not individually oriented but rather collectively determined. Needs are meaningful only in relation to one's extended family network. It is this family network that determines and gives meaning to what ultimately constitutes a need. Thus, unlike what obtains in Western countries,a need in the Nigerian context carries a collective connotation. This is presumably the reasonn why Prof.Aboyade (1976:42) indicated that:

> much of the development theorizing of the last three decades has been developed on assumptions which differ in important respects from economic conditions and social institutions of tropical Africa. If further progress is therefore to be made in both theory and application, these assumptions need to be restated for another round in the endless process of logical deduction.

I shall now briefly examine needs' theory against the demand characteristics of the rural background of the Nigerian worker.

The Nigerian worker has a plethora of needs which usually have their roots in the rural setting. These needs are constantly changing within the rural framework. One of such changes in the needs of rural people was prompted by the advent of colonialism.As a result of colonialism some needs (e.g., money for tax, consumer goods,etc.)

could no longer be satisfied in the rural areas. This induced rural people to migrate to cities. In the rural area the need to be respected by others, to receive distinctions, social prestige and honour are easily satisfied, as is the need to co-operate with others. With the removal of the responsibility of child training from the family unit to the school and the introduction of tuition fees payable in alien currency, it became exceedingly difficult for rural people to meet obligations which needed money to satisfy. The same is true of several traditional obligations which were previously non- monetary. Thus, the introduction of money as the only means of satisfying some of his previous non-material obligations prompted the rural person to migrate to the city in quest of a job. The worker expects this urban job to meet his material and non-material obligations.To his dismay, the worker discovers that government incentive schemes are exclusively geared towards workers' material needs (see Otobo, 1986). Workers' non-mateial needs are ignored and therefore remain largely unmet. Part of the research issue is, thus, the satisfaction of these non-material familial obligations by urban workers, and the impact of this on work attitudes. It is argued that private organizations, because of their comparatively flexible organizational structures, receptivity to values that workers bring from the larger environment, encouragement of workers' initiatives and possession of support groups which sufficiently cater for workers' non-material obligations, offer a more conducive milieu for positive work attitudes to develop. It is also argued that private workers by meeting these obligations also obtain some return on their

investments in extended family members. By tradition this return takes the form of increasing status in the home village as well as other ways by which continuing contributions are ultimately recognized back home.

On the other hand public organizations, because of their characteristic rigidity and unreceptivity to the values that workers bring from the larger environment, the conflict between rural work values and the values implicit in the organizational structure and the exclusive focus on material needs to the neglect of workers' non-material needs, possess the vital ingredients necessary to promote negative work attitudes. The public worker is further disappointed when he discovers that even his material obligations cannot be sufficiently met by public organizational incentive schemes (see Otobo, 1981).

Typically, there is an attempt to shape work attitudes and commitment by the application of incentives such as pay increases, promotions, etc. However, rewards are in the eyes of the beholder, and such incentives might not be rewarding to the workers. I argue that this is the case (also see Arnold,1977). The two major national commissions of inquiry set up to suggest ways of enhancing worker efficiency, recommended inter alia, pay hikes for public workers. Although the Udoji commission of inquiry highlighted the adverse consequences that might result from undue emphasis on 'paper' qualifications as well as excessive hierarchism in the country's bureucracy (see Balogun,1983), these aspects of the report were

largely neglected and the attention of the public was drawn mainly to the portion that contained the recommendation for a general pay increase. The pay hikes, when they were implemented,did not lead to any observable changes in public work attitudes. Sheer financial rewards cannot compensate for workers' values which are suppressed in public organizations. Simple pay increases to public workers are seldom enough to meet their increasing familial obligations (both material and non-material) and the need for recognition in their home village. Public workers, especially, do not find government's incentive schemes necessarily rewarding. As a result government is understandably confused and frustrated as exemplified by the several social campaigns that have been launched by successive governments to alter the overwhelmingly negative attitudes to public work, e.g., the current social campaign called WAI, which means war against indiscipline). I shall now briefly examine the process theory of motivation.

Process theory of motivation attempts to explain the nature of motivated behaviour. The most popular of the theories in this group is expectancy theory. Though first developed by Tolman (1932) and later by Lewin (1938), Vroom (1964) was the first to apply it to industry. According to Porter and Lawler (1968) motivated behaviour is dependent upon two conditions:1.the subjective belief by an individual that by exerting effort he will be able to accomplish a given task and 2.he will obtain the reward(s) he seeks.The individual must perceive that there are attractive rewards available to him if he accomplishes the task. In general, expectancy theory

states that an individual will evaluate various strategies of behaviour (e.g., working hard everyday vs working only three days out of five) and then choose the behaviour he believes will lead to a desired outcome (e.g.,pay increase,promotion or recognition). If the individual believes that working hard everyday will lead to a desired outcome,then expectancy theory would predict that this behaviour would be the one chosen. A leading proponent of this school, Vroom(1964), used the term valence for the strength of one's motivation to perform particular acts. He argued that these depended on:the balance of satisfaction and dissatisfaction one anticipated as resulting from these and alternate acts, and the strength of one's experience that these outcomes will infact follow from such acts. This exchange principle implicit in the works of Vroom, is also evident in the works of March and Simon. March and Simon (1958:84) called it organizational equilibrium and defined it thus:

> each participant will continue his participation in an organization only so long as the inducements offered him are as great or greater than the contribution he is asked to make.

The third theory of motivation is reinforcement theory.This theory emphasizes the application of reward in determining the direction of motivated behaviour. It is sometimes referred to as operant conditioning. The simplest explanation of operant conditioning is the one provided by Homans (1974:16):

> for all actions taken by persons, the more often a particular action of a person is rewarded, the more likely the person is to perform the action.

This explanation suggests that behaviour is a function of its consequence or reward. If the reward scheme in an organization consistently stimulates work attitudes and behaviour that are incongruent with organizational objectives, then it becomes necessary to modify such a reward scheme. Government's efforts to induce positive work attitudes using monetary rewards have failed woefully. Government is understandably confused and the question that repeatedly crops up in government circles is--why is the incentive scheme not producing the intended results? It is with respect to this unanswered question that reinforcement theory and its applicability to Nigerian organizational context is discussed in this thesis.

Before concluding this chapter it is worthwhile to recount some of the main points that have been highlighted. The literature of management and psychological theories of motivation was reviewed in order to familiarize ourselves with the main themes of these theories as a basis for assessing their applicability to the particular Nigerian social context. Some elements of human relations theory(e.g., its emphasis on group solidarity) bear resemblance to features of indigenous communitarian organizational practice, although a sharp contrast exists between both practices in the sense that groups within the human relations theory are perceived as 'irrational' and, therefore, manipulable by management, whereas rural work groups collectively and 'rationally'(by their own accounts) participate in organizational decision making. Thus, because rural work groups are fully in charge of organizational decisions, the onus of responsiblity lies with the group.

Need theories are analytically inadequate for determining the extent to which workers' needs are satisfied in Nigeria. Although there exists what are regarged as strictly ' individual needs', such an individualized definition of need does not conform with the 'all-embracing' definition of needs which generally prevails in the particular Nigerian social context. An individual's needs are traditionally defined with reference to the generalized needs of members of his extended family. An individual's needs are intricately tied up with the needs of members of this family network. These are some of the theoretical flaws which will certainly hinder the successful application of these theories in

Nigeria. I shall now examine attitude and its explanatory variables. This chapter also examines the relationship between attitude and values in order to equip us better in devising ways to enhance positive work attitudes.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ATTITUDE AND ITS EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

Since attitude to work is the central theme of this study, it is imperative that I review the literature on the concept of attitude. Such a review is essential simply because once we understand how attitudes about significant objects or persons are formed, then we know where to focus attention in attempting to influence work attitudes in some specific direction.

The term attitude first appeared in intelllectual discourse after the middle of the nineteenth century (see Spencer, 1862;Lange,1888; Munsterberg,1889;Fere, 1890). A promimnent historic root of the concept of attitude is to be found in American psychology whose theme at this time revolved around the explanation of individual differences. American psychological research in the 1920s and 1930s predominantly employed the concept of attitude in the explanation of individual differences toward consensually defined social objects or issues (e.g.,war, church,ethnicity, etc.). Technological innovations in research methods, sample surveys and survey analysis (e.g.,public opinion polling), contributed to the prominence of attitudinal studies during this time. The research on small groups begun by Lewin (1951) also added a new dimension to the study of attitudes. The efforts of Lewin (1951) and Festinger(1950) provided theoretical and experimental techniques for monitoring the effects of group pressure (social influence) on attitude change. The study

of attitudes entered the psycho-analytic tradition via the 'authoritarian personality'study. Adorno et. al.(1950) illustrated how attitudes may be a defensive posture that people assume against the consequences of deep-seated inner conflict. This study merged the study of attitudes with the study of personality dynamics.

Hovland et.al.'s (1949,1963) experiments on persuasive communication were a major contribution to an understanding of the factors which influence resistance to attitude change. Hovland and his team identified how the numerous characteristics of source and the content of communication may influence attitude change in people.

A few of the several definitions of attitude that emerged at the early stage were:attitude as the intensity of negative or positive affect for or against a pychological object (Thurstone, 1946; Edwards,1957); attitude as a mental and neural state of readiness (Allport,1935)and attitude as an enduring organization of motival, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspects of the individual's world (Krech and Crutchfield,1948). The main point of disagreement in these definitions was whether one could explain attitude change by exclusive recourse to cognitive factors or by also examinining affective factors. However, this definitional disagreement subsided when later research showed that both cognitive and behavioural theories shared a common assumption that man strives to maintain consistency among the cognitive,affective and behavioural components within a single belief, and among all the beliefs entering into an attitude(see

Rosenberg, McGuire, Abelson, and Brem, 1960 pp15-64; Campbell,1963).

The narrowing down of the schism between the behaviourists and the cognitive psychologists led to a more refined definition of attitude. One such definition is by Rokeach(1968:116), who defined attitude as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation,predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner." This definition is also consistent with that offered by Fishbein and Ajzen(1975).

It should be noted that the notion of attitude as a predisposition to respond in a preferential manner has gained immense popularity in contemporary psychological literature. This definition cautions us to examine belief and value systems while attempting to explain attitudes. Elaborating on his previous definition, Rokeach(1968:159) indicated that" an attitude is a package of beliefs consisting of interconnected assertions to the effect that certain things about a specific situation are true or false or other things about it are desirable or undesirable." I shall now examine some of the key concepts in this definition.

The role of beliefs in attitude have been acknowledged by several writers (see Thurstone,1931;Cronkhite,1960;Ostrom,1968; Rokeach,1968;Scheibe,1970). A belief may be defined as an inference made by an individual about underlying states of expectancy. According to Fishbein and Ajzen(1975) a belief system has within it some organized psychological neutrality. While attitudes are

expressed as either pro or con,favourable or unfavourable,beliefs are somewhat neutral. For example, we believe that the earth is spherical in shape, but this belief does not imply any evaluation of the earth's sphericality. At any one point individual's possess several beliefs, but only the salient beliefs about an object are elicited first. While beliefs about ephemeral ideas may be altered over time, beliefs about such institutions as the church,democracy and capitalism tend to be relatively stable (see Fishbein and Ajzen,1975).

The expectancy value model states that a person's evaluations of the attributes of an object contribute to his attitude in proportion to the strength of his beliefs. This model explains how a person's beliefs about an object are combined to arrive at an evaluation of the object.

$$A = \sum_{i=1}^{n} b_i e_i$$

EQUATION 1

For example in equation 1, A is the attitude toward an object,event, action etc.and b is the belief(s) about the object's attributes or about the act's consequences. According to this model a person's attitude toward an object can be estimated by summing the total set of his beliefs. The terms 'attribute' and 'consequence' according to Fishbein(1975) are used in a very general sense to refer to any characteristics, quality, object, concept, value or goal associated

with the object or behaviour. There is considerable support for the expectancy value model(see Fishbein, 1963; Kaplan and Fishbein, 1969).

While beliefs refer to a person's subjective probability judgements concerning some aspects of his world, values are abstract ideals, positive or negative, not tied to any specific attitude, object or situation, representing a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals, what Rokeach (1968) refered to as 'generalized adjectival and terminal values'. Rokeach (1968), for example, subsumed values under beliefs and defined it (values)as "centrally located within one's total belief system, about how one ought or ought not to behave or about some endstate of existence worth or not worth attaining". The centrality of value in the belief system and its relation to attitude has been extensively discussed in the literature on attitudes (see Rosenberg,1953; Allport,1973). Siegal and Siegal (1953), for example, have contended that attitudes prevalent among the individuals in various groups are derived from the value sets and special concerns of their groups. Although values and attitudes are widely assumed to determine social behaviour, value is a determinant of attitude as well as behaviour. According to Rokeach (1968) once a value is internalized, it becomes consciously or unconsciously a standard or criterion for guiding actions, for developing and maintaining attitudes towards relevant objects and situations and for justifying one's own and others actions and attitudes. Values differ from attitude in many respects. While attitude represents several beliefs focused on a specific

object or situation, a value is a single belief that transcendentally guides action and judgement across specific objects and situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence. A value unlike an attitude is an imperative to action. According to Williams (1968)a value is not only a belief about the preferable but also a preference for the preferable,a standard yardstick to actions,attitudes, etc.(also see Kluckhonn,1951;Smith,1963).

The aim of this study is to understand work behaviour by relying on attitude as an explanatory device. The definition of attitude cited earlier as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner," implies a strong link between attitude and behaviour. It should be noted that research carried out to test the consistency of the relationship between attitude and behaviour has remained largely inconclusive. Some scholars who insist on the lack of a consistent relationship between attitude and behaviour include Lapiere (1934) and Kutner and Yarrow(1952). On the other hand,scholars who contend that a consistent relationship exists between attitude and behaviour include Cook and Seltiz,1964; Hyman,1949;Insko and Schopler,1967). These latter scholars maintain that many attitudes or values are relevant to any given behaviour. For one to understand a particular behaviour, one has to examine the configuration of attitudes relevant to that single behaviour. These scholars maintain that the notion of a single attitude-behaviour relationship can only lead to a spurious conclusion.

This review of the literature on attitude and attitude change will, hopefully, provide a guideline for discussing Nigerian work attitudes. Consistent with Rokeach(1968), Fishbein and Ajzen(1975), attitude is here defined as "the predisposition to act in some preferential manner to a psychological object (in our case,work). "Also consistent with these scholars the main argument of this study is that Nigerian work attitudes are a consequence of the conflict between workers' orientations (which are predominantly rural) and the objective reality of urban employment.

The rural orientations of workers inevitably permeate and become decisive of work attitudes and behaviour in urban organizations.Organizational actors (workers) influence the structure of the work place,because they have internalized a culture which they all share to a degree extensive enough to be decisive by virtue of their membership in a wider national society (see Rose,1984). The importance attached to workers' values in the explanation of organizational behaviour has also led to a shift of emphasis in organizational research. For example, it is now commonplace to incorporate cultural factors in the analysis of organizational behaviour. Crozier(1964), for example, traced the distinctiveness of French bureaucrats to certain historical factors in the wider society. Scott et.al.(1956) made 'tradition' an explanatory variable in the Liverpool study of steel workers. Gaillie (1968) noted that cultural difference was explanatory of the differential attitudes between British and French workers in four identical oil refineries. Goldthorpe et.al.(1968) in the Luton study

emphasized that workers' orientations, set largely outside the organization, were an important explanatory variable of work attitudes and behaviour(also see Ingham,1970; Warren and Jahoda,1973). I shall now briefly examine the Nigerian bureaucracy with particular emphasis on how its structure precludes the values that workers bring from the wider environment.

The Nigerian bureaucracy could be described as a closed system model, mainly because its structures are rigid and unadaptive to the values that workers bring from the larger environment. Attitudes are presumed to be influenced by organizational structures. This presumption has led to an increase in chains of command and levels of hierachy (see Omogbehin, 1985). The exclusive focus of incentive schemes on the individual, without regard for the obligations which the individual has towards members of his exended family, is a grave misjudgement on the part of government because the individual's needs are meaningful only with respect to the needs of members of his extended family. It is the importance of this larger societal factor (the extended family network) in the determination of workers' needs that makes it crucial to understand workers' orientations. Unlike the sociological emphasis on workers' orientations,closed system models are psychologistic and typically ask: What organizational arrangements are most effective for a given organizational purpose? The question itself, not any particular answer to it, carries the implication that structure has a reality apart from the individual persons who happen to be in the organization; and that structural arrangements in organization are

as enduring as the purpose for which the organizations themselves were created (see Meyer,1979). This leads us to some of the issues which have generated intense debate in recent times, ie.,(a) whether organizational variables alone can sufficiently explain organizational behaviour and (b) whether workers' orientations are important in understanding work behaviour.

Pugh et.al.(1968;1969a) remain one of the most extensive efforts to measure the interplay of structural factors in organizations (they examined 52 organizations embracing a heterogeneity of goals). The study reached the conclusion that there were several types of bureaucracies(bureaucratic polymorphism); that organizations fall into 7 main clusters (in terms of four structural dimensions) and that each cluster was linked with a specific pattern of contextual variables which could explain them. The uniqueness of the work by Pugh et.al.(1968,1969a) lies in its recognition of contextual (societal) variables in the explanation of organizational structure. This is a major point of convergence between their work and the present one.

Child (1972b) writing from the same university (Aston) disagreed with the conclusions of Pugh et al.((1968;1969a), especially noting in a re-analysis of the same data that:bureaucratic formalism intensified with growth in size, although they did so within a subset of manufacturing organizations. Blau (1970) also arrived at a similar conclusion that organizational size has implications for structural differentiation (also see Burns and Stalker,1963).

Following from this, work attitudes and behaviour have been explained in terms of influence of plant technology (see Woodward,1958; Walker and Guest,1952; Blauner,1964).

The emphasis on structure and the tendency to overlook qualitative elements in organizations has been criticised. The over-emphasis on structure is,according to Meyer(1972b), due to the fact that structural properties are more amenable to quantification than elements of the environment which,although important,are armorphous and unquantifiable. Dibble (1965) has also commented on the methodological deficiency of this approach, saying that a theory that explains bureaucratic structures solely in terms of size merely neglects the fact that large organizations existed well before bureaucracy became widespread.

The technological determinacy of organizational behaviour was in due course replaced by a culturalist explanation of work behaviour. A pioneering work in this area is Richardson's (1956) comparison of crew organizations in the British and American merchant marine. The conclusion of this study is consistent with those of Ingham (1970) and Gaillie(1968).Richardson(1956), for example, concluded that the pursuit of similarly structured organizational goals is arranged differently from country to country,reflecting cultural peculiarities across countries. It is in light of the shift of emphasis from organizational variables to societal factors that I intend to examine the orientations which workers bring from the larger environment. Thus, the point should be reiterated that

workers learn their values from core institutions in the wider society and that their work attitudes should be examined against the backgroud of these societal values.

I intend to examine the independent variables in the next chapter. A closer examination of the independent variables is necessary to familiarise us with the rural organizational elements from which they were derived. Such rural organizational elements, as I have consistently argued, constitute workers orientations, which in turn determine work attitudes in the objective circumstances of urban employment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

In chapter 2 the independent variables were defined, and justification was proffered for the choice of each one. In this chapter I intend to highlight the indigenous value systems from which the independent variables were derived. Since I have consistently argued that societal values influence work attitudes, it is imperative to examine the root of each of the independent variables within the value system of the people. This is a necessary prelude for understanding work attitudes as well as for stating the hypotheses for this study. It should be noted that there is no systematic self-selection process in either private or public jobs in Nigeria. If workers have prior orientations about work,we would expect them to select jobs accordingly. This is not necessarily the case in the Nigerian employment setting. People secure employment only when there are job vacancies. Sometimes these vacancies are advertised, and at other times job applicants learn of vacancies from close friends or relatives working in the organizations where such vacancies exist. At any point in time there are several job applicants pursuing very few openings. A job applicant may not necessarily forgo a placement in an organization just because such an organization will not cater for his elaborate extended family obligations. In the absence of a worthwhile alternative a job applicant usually accepts an only option. That only option is usually a public job. This is likely to be the case

because government organizations are more numerous, and government remains the largest employer of labour in the country.It is assumed,nonetheless, that in a situation where there are openings for a similar job in both the private and the public sectors, a prospective job applicant is more likely to choose a private job due to the reasons previously advanced (also,see Omogbehin,1985). Since this study is not particularly concerned with factors which influence the choice of jobs, suffice it to say that both sectors of the Nigerian economy are made up of workers with different social characteristics. Cultural/religious socialization agents (e.g.,Koranic schools, extended family,etc.) in the rural as well as urban areas tend to provide initial information which contributes similarly to the convergence of attitudes on specific psychological objects in the urban world. Although not all members from the same group (family/ethnic) will make the same evaluation on any one point, it is assumed that there would be an ultimate tendency toward agreement. The independent variables are familial/personal obligations, powerlessness and boredom. Other scales are individual vs system blame and the job satisfaction scale.

FAMILIAL/PERSONAL NEEDS

This refers to the ability of the organization to meet workers' familial/personal needs. The needs of a worker have traditionally embraced the generalized needs of members of his extended family; that is the reason this variable is called familial/personal needs (which is collective in conotation) as opposed to personal needs. In

our earlier discusion it was noted that over time workers attempt to meet their obligations to extended family members. It should be stressed that some of these obligations are essentially non-material.

In the rural areas, for example, attendance at ceremonies and festivals is highly regarded. Equally important is the premium on active involvement in communal projects, e.g.,construction of an assortment of village infrastructures. The sponsorship of a family member in a university or any institution of higher learning is traditionally a family responsibility. Every member of the family, the young and the old, contribute in various ways towards the training of bright family youngsters. Rural people also place much emphasis on traditional ceremonies. One plausible explanation for this emphasis is that traditional ceremonies provide avenues for learning more about the cultural heritage. These ceremonies are marked by dancing and the exchange of gifts by family members. During these ceremonies (especially festivals) young, educated 'sons of the soil,'who have distinguished themselves in the course of their sojourn, return home and are honoured in proportion to their achievements. Traditionally, these people are conferred with chieftaincy titles. Every village member, in principle or practice, belongs to at least one of the several organizations that abound in the village. These organizations perform specific functions within the village community. Apart from these tasks which are collectively executed by group members, village groups are essentially co-operative in outlook and welfarist in orientation. They help each

other out in times of difficulty. A village person who is due for marriage but has no money for the bride price is financially aided. A man who is attempting to build a house is also helped.In this case group members help with every phase of the construction work. Different groups of young women fetch water for moulding the blocks. Some groups of men dig laterite(sharp sand) from the local stream, while others help with moulding the blocks.In groups they arrive each morning and quit at nightfall, until the house is completed. Even at noon, when they take a break for food,eating is collective. Everyone dips his hand in the same bowl of Ewedu, Nsala or Ovwovwo soup as the case may be. Because of the supportive role of these groups, I will henceforth call them 'support groups'. These groups as the name suggests aim to help the worker when he is in hardship or in dire need of extra hands for a project. Ceremonies, which are ubiquitous in the rural areas and in which the rural person must participate, are occasions when the worker by tradition is expected to show off (display) the group to which he belongs. Village people assess individuals in terms of the performance of these groups during such ceremonies. The level of performance might be estimated by the degree of collective involvement in the arrangement of such ceremonies, the social significance of their gifts to the locality, the traditional expertise displayed by the group during the dancing session (choreography) and the depth of interaction with the local community.

What a worker does outside of the work situation concerns everyone as much as what he does at work. The relationship between an

individual worker and his colleagues does not terminate within the confines of the organization with the close of a workday. Visits outside of the workplace are frequent and reciprocal among all workers. A worker whose workmates are unknown to his family members is usually ridiculed. A worker who is disobedient or not hard working in his workplace is usually reported to members of his family. In this manner managerial authority tends to be complemented by familial authority. It worked. Sanctions are usually invoked against recalcitrant workers by their respective families, while workers deserving of praise (and they are always many)are collectively honoured by workmates and family members. A festive occasion is an opportunity for support groups to be appreciative of services rendered by several extended families. Such appreciations usually involved presentations of traditional gifts, e.g.,kola nuts. A worker in the rural environment is viewed against the background of his extended family. He is a link between his larger family and the organization in which he works. Any appreciation of the service(s) he rendered to his organization is not made to him but to members of this larger extended family. Correspondingly, the worker's needs are perceived and defined with respect to these other constituents of the elaborate extended family network.

The fulfilment of these traditional obligations have remained the reference point by which contemporary workers judge management incentive schemes. Private organizations are especially cognizant of this crucial element in the workers' world view and attempt to meet these obligations over time. Partly due to their size and

particularly because of the flexibility of these organizations, they tend to encourage the formation of support groups. These groups are formed within the firms but essentially perform extra-organizational functions. They attempt to meet the spiralling obligations of the worker outside the work setting. Although support groups in the rural areas are overwhelmingly kinship-based, support groups in private organizations are not necesarily kinship-based. Support groups transcend kinship affiliation, although in family firms support groups are overwhelming kinship-based and understandably engage in more intense extra-organizational activities. These groups, some of which are locally called' susu' (a thrift society,see Omogbehin,1985) perform a mosaic of functions including the paying of school fees for bright relatives of workmates as well as other civic and familial obligations of workers that are anchored in the rural area.Wherever there is organization, there is always some form of support group lurking outside of the formal organizational structure. Because the formal structure of public organizations does not recognize and even discourages informal organizations, these groups do not seem to have any perceptible influence on workers in the public sector. While support groups have been banned in public organization (because they are thought to undermine the formal structure of the organization), private organizations have allowed these groups immense leverage to embark on a myriad of supportive activities. Thus, it should be emphasized that support groups are informal associations which attempt mainly to satisfy the obligations that workers have outside of the place of work. One latent function of these groups

is the provision of forums for management and workers to discuss personal problems which may not necessarily relate to the job but which could adversely affect job performance, if not properly handled. The face to face nature of these groups facilitates a high degree of mutual interaction in the form of regular visits. Thus, in the private sector,employers and employees have responsibilities to each other that transcend mere contractual obligations such as generally obtains in public organizations. Apart from the profit motive(central to the existence of every private organization), which exerts pressure on individual workers to be efficient, the inherent flexiblity of private organizational structures which make it possible for management to identify with the problems of employees,heightens the morale of the workforce. This is one reason why private employees are generally considered to be unequivocally committed to management objectives.

Giving credence to this line of argument McGregor (1960) and Likert (1961) have argued that the achievement of organizational effectiveness in fact requires this kind of moral involvement of employees,and the integration of their goals, subjectively and objectively, with those of enterprise as a whole. Only in this way, they have argued, can employees be motivated to high level performance and their capacities, fully utilized. The tradition of support groups, a surviving element of indigenous communitarianism ,which cater for workers' extra-organizational obligations, is,thus, an integral gauge for measuring the level of worker involvement in private organizations.

By contrast, public organizations are characterized by impersonal relationships. Relationships in the workplace are formal and employees rarely discuss personal issues in a manner similar to the pattern that obtains in private organizations. Public organizations care very little about the orientations which workers bring from the larger environment. In accepting a public job an individual must shed rural values because these values conflict with the values inmplicit in public organizational structures. These values are not necessarily shed but suppressed in public organizational circumstances. It is usually assumed that the new worker will be instantly attuned to the values and tempo of public work. This assumption is wrong because the worker literally becomes a cog in the wheel of organizational 'progress'. He has suppressed his rural values and has grave difficulty coming to terms with the new and conflictual organizational values he is expected to adopt. So long as this dilemma lingers, the job suffers because the worker at this stage is not fully committed to it.

Consistent with needs' theories, government assumes that monetary incentives can effectively satisfy workers' obligations (for a full discussion of need theories, see Lewin,1938;March and Simon ,1958; Vroom,1964; Porter and Lawler,1968). Consistent with these theorists, government assumes that the motivational significance of work lies in its provision of monetary reward by which workers' obligations can be fulfilled. My argument is to the contrary,that monetary incentives are not intrinsically motivating. Rather, monetary incentives are seen at best as secondary

reinforcers by these workers. These incentives are seen as secondary reinforcers beacause they do not satisfy some of the important, though intangible, needs that workers have.For these people money is not an end in itself, nor solely a means of individual consumption and, thus, cannot be considered a sufficient incentive. It is pertinent to reiterate the background of the Nigerian worker in order to make this point more vivid.

The Nigerian worker is encircled with obligations to both distant and close relatives. The worker typically grew up in a rural area or learned the rural ways of doing things in the urban setting (in the case of those born in the urban centre). Growing up in the rural area has invariably meant membership in at least one of the several rural-based religious or cultural organizations. Through these organizations the rural person come to internalize rural conceptions of work. Such conceptions emphasize group solidarity and the importance of collective responsiblity in the execution of jobs. The rural milieu is generally characterized by closely knit group life. Emphasis centres on living happily as a solidary unit where everyone is his brother's keeper. In this regard there are several indigenous welfare schemes designed to help people in difficulties. Because the rural person has been enmeshed in one of these several groups while in the village, there is a tendency for him to want to be involved in a group that possesses similar characteristics when he secures an urban job.While support groups in the private sector readily satisfy the worker's yearning for a co-operative work group, the structure of public organizations individualize workers

for effective manipulation and control. It is important to note that the worker's orientation contrasts sharply with public organizational reality. The worker has been socialized to value group life and the collective opinion of group members. As Ouchi(1981:83) indicated in theory Z:

> It is not external evaluations or rewards that matter to the worker, rather it is the intimate, subtle and complex evaluation of one's peers, people who cannot be fooled,which is paramount.

I argue that the favourable evaluation of supportive activities in the private sector is ultimately translated into positive work attitudes by workers in these places. As Leonard (1977:44) rightly indicated"the first attempt at organizational theory failed because it underestimated the significance of work group solidarity". I shall now examine the concept of powerlessness as it is used in this study.

POWERLESSNESS

Powerlessness is an index of alienation (see Seeman,1959). Powerlessness in this case is a consequence of the conflict between workers' rural conception of work and the implicit values in public organizational structures. The Nigerian worker comes into a public organization with an orientation comprising essentially,the rural work values which he has internalized. To his dismay the worker discovers that, because his values are incongruent with

organizational values, his job is reduced to a mere drudgery of constant readjustment and adaptation to contrasting organizational norms. Thus, the accumulated experience in rural organizations is wasted once the worker picks up a public job. Rural experience is wasted because, first, the assumptions governing rural work are at variance with the assumptions governing public work. Second, the fact that new workers have to divest themselves of rural values without determinedly learning values governing public work implies that rural values are irrelevant in public organizational circumstances. Workers' contributions to decision-making in the public sector are tangential, because such contributions are usually limited to the amount of re-orientation they have achieved in the organization at that point in time. Such re-orientations in public organizations (usually carried out on a personal basis) produce very scanty results, because it is difficult to automatically divest one's self of values that have accummulated over the entire span of one's existence. Thus, the value incongruence which is experienced by the worker and is beyond his power to alter causes him to psychologically withdraw from active involvement in the organization. The value incongruence experienced by new graduate employees in the public service has also been highlighted by Adebayo(1981:31). According to him:

> In the early stages of his assumption of work, it is possible that much of the correspondence and minutes he receives will be strange and will convey no clue as to how to tackle them. Some feign illness and disappear for a few days

> under cover of a sick certificate from a doctor, hoping thereby that by the time they return someone else will have been given the problem to solve. Sometimes when new public employees discover that they have no clue to the problem before them, they merely shrug their shoulders and pass up some unintelligible submission which makes no contribution to the subject at issue and which completely misses the mark.

The individual may withdraw from active involvement in his job into apathy and indifference, all of which influence his attitude to the job.Such normative conflict arising from the work situation may remain latent for long periods,usually punctuated with sporadic outbursts of discontent. There is substantial evidence in the literature that withdrawal is favoured by those without effective means of remedying their grievances (see Sayles,1958;Scott et.al.,1963;Turner et.al.,1967). This is the background against which powerlessness should be viewed.The worker psychologically withdraws from active involvement in organizational matters because his values and, therefore, his very self is not considered integral to the functioning of the organization. This is so because the worker reflects back on his experience in rural organizations which characteristically aroused involvement and a sense of belonging in rural workers. Although a village was made up of several task groups, it was not unusual to weld them into one large group if a village was faced with a problem that required a lot of people.

Membership in these sometimes overlapping groups was open to all village people,although attainment of adulthood was a prerequsite for membership in some of these groups.Relationships among these village people were cordial and there were little or no secrets in organizational matters. Everyone was committed, almost to the same degree, in the execution of any particular communal task. A new bride was collectively welcomed,just as the dead were collectively buried. A group of farmers who needed more hands to help with the harvest was readily helped by a volunteer group, with the hope that such a gesture would be reciprocated over time. This spectacular rural norm of reciprocity has been documented by Forde(1962). It is this somewhat idealized rustic situation that the worker compares with the reality of public organization. Realizing that he is powerless to alter the contrasting features in public organizational circumstances, the worker psychologically withdraws from active involvement in the job. I shall now examine the concept of boredom.

BOREDOM

Boredom is here defined as the extent to which workers feel that their job is routine and devoid of challenges. Boredom is a product of the constraining factors within the organization. Simply put, constraining factors within the organization produce boredom,which in turn influences the attitude of workers to their work. A rigid organizational structure such as obtains in the public sector leaves little room for personal ingenuity and growth. The structural rigidity of public organization reduces work to a mere

routine and correspondingly diminishes worker enthusiasm. Work performance under this framework becomes mere drudgery. People hold on to the job not because of the challenges the job possesses but simply as a last resort in a situation without any option. The boredom that is the result of restrictive public organizational features, it is argued, contributes to negative work attitudes in this sector. It is presently a regular feature of public organizational life not to find majority of public functionaries in the office after 3 pm. While the official closing hour is 3.30 pm (5.00pm in some organizations), most officers leave the office after 2.30pm on the pretext of going to pick their children from school. There is no effective way of monitoring the movement of public officers. When the Price Control Board was set up during the regime of Yakubu Gowon, it was hoped that prices,and therefore inflation, would be put under control. Before long, officers charged with the responsibility of running the affairs of this board lined their pockets with bribes from influential merchants and became ineffective in monitoring the prices of commodities. The same was true of the Public Complaints Bureau which was set up as a forum to redress the injustice low status persons might suffer elite members of society. Like most public organizations the Bureau was soon found wanting and disbanded. The Nigerian Security Organization(the central intelligence body), which was set up to gather intelligence on security matters, performed little espionage work and was used mainly as an instrument of vendetta in military circles during the reign of Major General Buhari. The list is endless. Once a public organization is set up, there is the general belief that the

structures are fixed and unchangeable. Officials charged with the responsiblity of administering these organizations in no time run these organizations as though they were their private property. In this respect, vital rules are sometimes circumvented, and arbitrary decisions are made. Therefore, officials tend to hide behind these supposedly unchanging structures in order to perpetrate mischief which eventually undermines the objectives such organizations set out to accomplish. This is one way public organizations create the circumstances which induce boredom in public workers. It is pertinent at this juncture to reiterate the main points in this section. First, public organizational structures are rigid and unaccommodative of the values which workers bring from the larger environment. Second, some public functionaries hide behind these rigid structures to perpetrate deviant practices e.g., fraud, corruption, nepotism , favouritism, etc. These aforementioned factors,coupled with the prevailing ambivalent yardsticks (e.g.,tribalism,favouratism, etc.) for measuring work performance, make the job unchallenging and boring. Thus, controlling for work-specific monotony in both sectors, I argue that boredom is more likely to be expressed by public workers.

INDIVIDUAL VS SYSTEM BLAME

This scale measures the extent to which workers blame the system or themselves for some of the problems they encounter in the workplace. This scale is derived from attribution theory. Attribution theory deals with the perceived likelihood of

alternative causal factors as explanations of observed behaviour (see Fishbein and Ajzen,1975 ;Heider,1958;Kelley,1967, 1973). Several investigations have found significant differences between judgement of own versus other's ability following success on a task (see Jones et. al.,1968;Feather and Simon,1971a;Jones and Nisbet,1971).

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) have contended that the most significant step in alienation is the attribution of the cause of failure to the social system rather than oneself. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) maintain that the way in which a person explained his failure or the failure of his people largely determines what he will do about it. Some people who have experienced a marked discrepancy between aspiration and achievements may look outward,attributing their failure to the existence of unjust, arbitrary arrangements which keep men of ability from rising in the social structure. By contrast, there are individuals who attribute failure to their own inadequacies,to lack of zeal, persistence ,discipline, intelligence or other personal qualities.

The argument is hereby advanced that workers in public organizations are more likely to blame the system for any problems they encountered in the workplace. First, these workers are somewhat peripheral to their organizations because they are not sufficiently involved in organizational matters. All government policies are pre-determined. The basic role of these workers is to religiously invoke these already documented rules and procedures.

Correspondingly, workers do not claim responsiblity for any policy that backfires. To give an illustrative example, a typical format for writing memoranda in the public service is: I am directed to inform you that.... There is always an invisible boss at a higher level of the seemingly interminable organizational hierarchy. Promotion, annual assessment, etc. are done by an 'invisible hand'. These factors together increase the likelihood that workers in this sector will blame the system rather than their own personal inadequacies for problems they encounter in the workplace. Consistent with this line of argument, Adedeji (1981:3) has noted that:

> The Nigerian civil service was diffident and unsure of itself and certainly unwilling to take risks and stick its neck out in the decision-making process, a civil service where the much-reduced class of the gifted and the dedicated is just bidding its time before quitting (also see Akpan,1982:179).

By contrast, private workers are more likely to blame specific persons for specific problems within the organization. This is arguably so because workers are given a free hand to take initiatives and also to accept responsibility for the consequences of such initiatives. A typical format for writing memoranda in the private sector is: the supervisor (or any other specific officer) has directed that.....Thus, if a policy initiated by the supervisor or any other designated officer fails to achieve the

intended result, the supervisor or that officer will be held responsible. The criteria for assessing work performance are documented and made known to all and sundry. In some family organizations such criteria are collectively formulated and strictly followed, without fear or favour. Because workers here are conversant with each other's capabilities,assessment in this sector is relatively fair. These workers can easily separate the industrious workers from the lazy ones. Workers who do not make progress in the organization are, therefore, more likely to blame their personal inadequacies rather than organizational impediments. It is against this background of free flow of initiatives and control by private workers that, I argue, these people are more likely to blame themselves rather than the organization for problems encountered in the organization. The converse argument is predictably the case for public workers.

SATISFACTION

Satisfaction refers to the intrinsic reward that workers derive from performing their tasks in the workplace. It may refer to the extent to which workers feel content with their jobs. For example, will they still take up that particular job if they were to start all over again? Will they recommend this same job to a colleague or friend? If answers to both questions are in the affirmative then one could rightly assume that the worker is satisfied with his work.

Herzberg (1966) stressed the importance of job satisfaction in work

motivation. He made a distinction between extrinsic (environmental factors) and intrinsic (job content) aspects of work and stressed the significance of the latter for work motivation. Turney (1974) has suggested intrinsic task values as a part of a more comprehensive model of motivation. There is, however, a tenuous relationship between job satisfaction and actual behaviour at work (see Vroom,1964).

The argument is deductively made that workers in the public sector are less likely to be satisfied with their jobs than workers in the private sector. This argument is a logical deduction from the previous discussion. Over time the public worker realises the inability of his organization to meet his obligations. He perceives himself as a fish out of water in his continuing unsuccessful task of readjusting and adapting to the conflicting values in public organization. This value conflict delimits the level of satisfaction derivable from the job and influences his work attitude in a negative direction. By contrast, private workers are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs because private organizations possess incentive schemes which are rewarding to these workers.Apart from these rewarding incentive schemes. Private organizational structures are relatively flexible and opportunities are plentiful for workers to use their discretion in organizational matters. This apparent encouragement of workers'initiatives facilitates collective identification with organizational goals.

HYPOTHESES

From the previous discussion, I derive the following hypotheses.

1.Private workers are more likely to express positive attitudes in the ability of their organization to meet their personal/familial needs.A converse relationship is hypothesized for public workers.

2.Public workers are more likely to express feelings of boredom than private workers.

3.Public workers are more likely to express attitudes that relate to the concept of powerlessness(as operationalized in this thesis) than private workers.

4.Public workers are less likely to blame themselves for any shortcomings(in levels of personal achievement) experienced in the organization.The converse relationship is hypothesized for private workers.

5.Private workers are more likely to be satisfied with their work than public workers.

This brings to a close the first section of this thesis.By way of recapitulation, I reviewed in the first section relevant literature on the sociology of work and development as well as Nigerian economic and social history. These constitute the theoretical framework from which the hypotheses were derived.The next section is a progression from theory to reality. It begins with a background

information on the organizations that fall under the scope of this study. This section also states the methodology as well as the sample design adopted for this study. The relationship between theoretical propositions/hypotheses and the actual questions (in the questionnaire schedule) is also highlighted. Finally, the section winds up with a chapter on summary and conclusion which is drawn largely from the substantive statistical results of each of the hypotheses tested. I shall now move to the next chapter to discuss the background information on the organizations/cities that were studied.

CHAPTER NINE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATIONS STUDIED

This chapter begins with a discussion of the background information on the organizations/cities studied. Such information will point to the value configurations that are likely to influence the worker in his workplace. If, for example, a worker grew up in a cultural milieu in which the organization of work was essentially co-operative, such a worker is likely to expect similar co-operative tendencies in urban employment sectors. His work attitudes would be shaped according to the extent to which this expectation is fulfilled. This is the reason why this chapter sets out to highlight the pre-eminent values in the organizations that were studied.

The sampling frame for this study was compiled from the list of persons working in public organizations (Delta steel company, Aladja-Warri, Federal University of Technology, Yola and the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Yola) and private organizations (Faro Bottling Company, Yola; Neil Gobe Bakery, Yola; and the General Mechanic Workshop, Yola). I shall now give a background history of each of the company that was studied.

PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

DELTA STEEL COMPANY, ALADJA-WARRI

The need to establish a sound technological base for Nigeria arose during the colonial era. However, it took many years after independence for initially vague ideas about steel technology to crystallize into a concrete plan. During the third national development plan period (1975-1980), the time had come for a final decision to be made about the steel project.

In October 1977 the contract for the Delta Steel project was awarded to the consortium Steel Plant of Nigeria (CSA), a conglomerate consisting of West German and Australian steel makers and equipment manufacturers. The scope of the agreement was for an integrated steel plant consisting of such major production units as the pellet plant, the direct reduction plant, the rolling mill, air separation plant, the lime calcination plant, the foundry and the various utility and auxillary units.

The Delta steel plant was commissioned at Ovwian-Aladja on January 29,1982. Ovwian-Aladja is a compound name for the two villages between which the plant is located. It is in the Ughelli local government area of Bendel state and some six kilometres north east of Warri township. Virtually all the workers in this company, totalling between 4-5 thousand, live in the Warri municipality. Coaches are provided to convey workers to and from the place of

work. Of all the organizations in our sample, this is the only one that is located in the southern part of the country.This company was, therefore, included in our sample, partly, to ensure geographic as well as cultural representativeness in order to support the general applicability of the conclusion of this study. Being located in the southern part of the country, particularly in the city of Warri with a long tradition of Western education, the workers in this company generally communicated in English (although some of them were more proficient in pidgin English).

The indigenous peoples in Aladja are the Urhobos who speak the 'Udu' or ' Udjevwe' dialect. Most of these people are easily recognizable by a long standing tradition of having triple (two-inch long) vertical incisions on either side of the face. Their major occupation is farming with a predominance of them also in the fishing business because of their proximity to the deltaic region of the River Niger. The cultural values of these people emphasize hospitality to strangers. They are mainly Christians, a direct influence of early missionaries whose penetration of this coastal area made it the official gateway to the hinterland. They embrace a variety of faiths such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Baptist and, very recently, the syncretic faiths such as as Cherubim and Seraphim, Celestial Church of Christ,Deeper Life Fellowship, etc. Those who are not Christians are devout African religionists. This latter segment help with the organization of the several traditional festivals that abound in the village. One such festival is the popular 'Agbasa juju' which is annually organized

in Warri city .'Agbasa juju' is a dance festival usually characterized by pomp and pageantry. The period of the festival is a time for exchange of goodwill among the contrastive groups that inhabit this city. Gift items are traditionally exchanged and visits are made. People travel unusually long distances to attend this popular festival. As one of the indigenes put it:"very few 'sons of the soil' would miss the Agbasa festival for anything in the world". Warri city, originally an Urhobo town, has become more cosmopolitan as a result of the influx of diverse migrants seeking for jobs in the multitude of oil and service companies which operate here. At the moment there exists a heterogeneity of ethnic groups in the city including the Ijaws, Itsekiris, Kwales,Binis (minority groups) and Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba (majority groups). For example,in the city there exists a place called Hausa quarters. This is an area where Hausas migrating from the northern part of the country initially put up.Here the fresh migrants are briefed by kinsmen or other unrelated first generation migrants on what to expect in the city. When they are sufficiently versed in the knowledge of the city, they move out of the quarters to the inner city (see Cohen, 1969, for a discussion of Hausa migrants in Yorubaland). In spite of the heterogeneity of ethnic groups,the Urhobos are still the most predominant ethnic group in this place. The numerical strength of these people has facilitated the diffusion of their cultural and linguistic values among the other ethnic groups. For example, children of migrants from other parts of the country pick up the language and other idiosyncracies of the Urhobo culture within months of living in the city. The crucial

point to note in this section is that the iron and steel company is located in Aladja-Warri, an area with a strong emphasis tradition. Some of their cultural values are believed to permeate the labour force where it influences worker's perception of work in the organization. I shall now return to the discussion of the different sections and products of the iron and steel company.

Delta steel company has given rise to several ancillary industries, e.g., scrap processing, wire and nail making,steel fabrication as well as foundry raw materials. Foundry products of the steel plant include,crusher jaws, crusher hammers, dinker rollers, liner plates, side plates, brake discs, drums, etc., for the cement, quarry and motor vehicle industries.

Although Delta steel has an installed capacity of one million tonnes of liquid steel, castable into 960,000 tonnes of billets per annunm, its production figures for the last four years represented 9.1%, 18.19%, 18.03% and 24.38% respectively of its installed capacity. These production levels have earned for it the uncomplimentary appellation of 'a white elephant projet'. It is pertinent to recount that the total outlay for the complete implementation of the Delta steel plant phase 1 and allied infrastructure is within a huge sum of 1.25 billion naira. This includes the costs of steel township construction,link roads, dredging of the river channel, plant harbours, administration building and other infrastructures including establishment and development of the company, training of staff locally and

overseas,technical assistance and MECON consultancy fees, payment of licence fees on patented processes and the complete construction, supplying and commissioning of the one million ton integrated steel works.

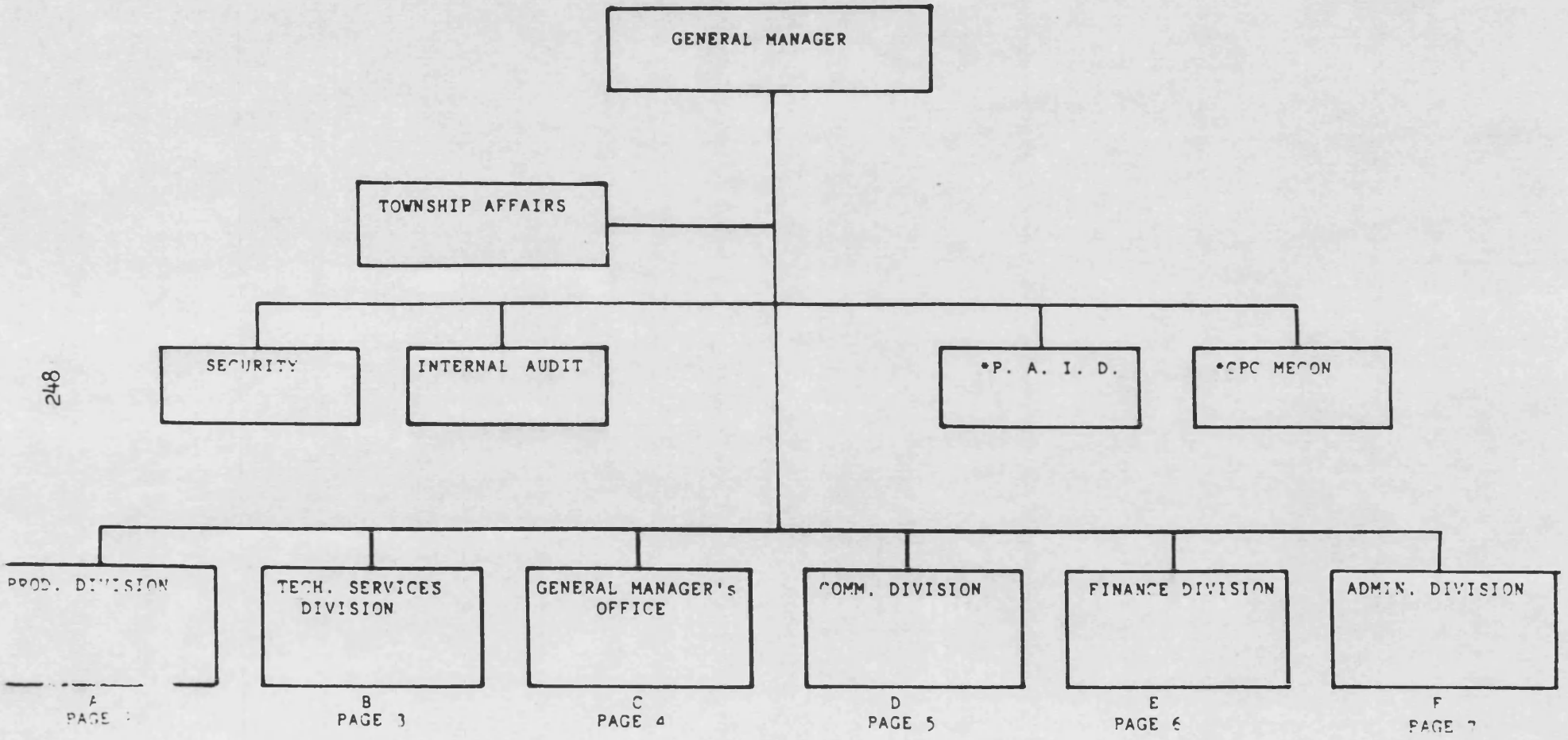
Erratic energy supply alone limits plant capacity to just about 50%. According to the general manager of the steel company, Mr.Tachia Jooji, production operations are subjected to incessant disruptions while, simultaneously, sensitive plant machinery and equipment suffer frequent breakdowns. As a result only two of the five furnaces (installed) can be used. Exorbitant energy cost constitutes about 16% of total production. Spare parts have been identified as a major problem confronting steel company.The General Manager, for example, observed in a press conference in July 1985 that" if not for lack of consummable spare parts and raw materials(iron ore) coupled with the insufficient amount of energy supplied by NEPA (National Electric Power Authority), Delta steel company could have produced more than the expected target.

Delta steel company has an unsteady staff strength of between 4-5 thousand persons. This number includes about 180 expatriate workers who are on contracts for durations ranging from three to four years. Table 1 shows the organizational structure of the iron and steel company. The General Manager is the head of the company. He is responsible to the board of directors which is in turn responsible to the steel minister in the Ministry of Mining and Steel. There are six divisions in the steel company, viz., the

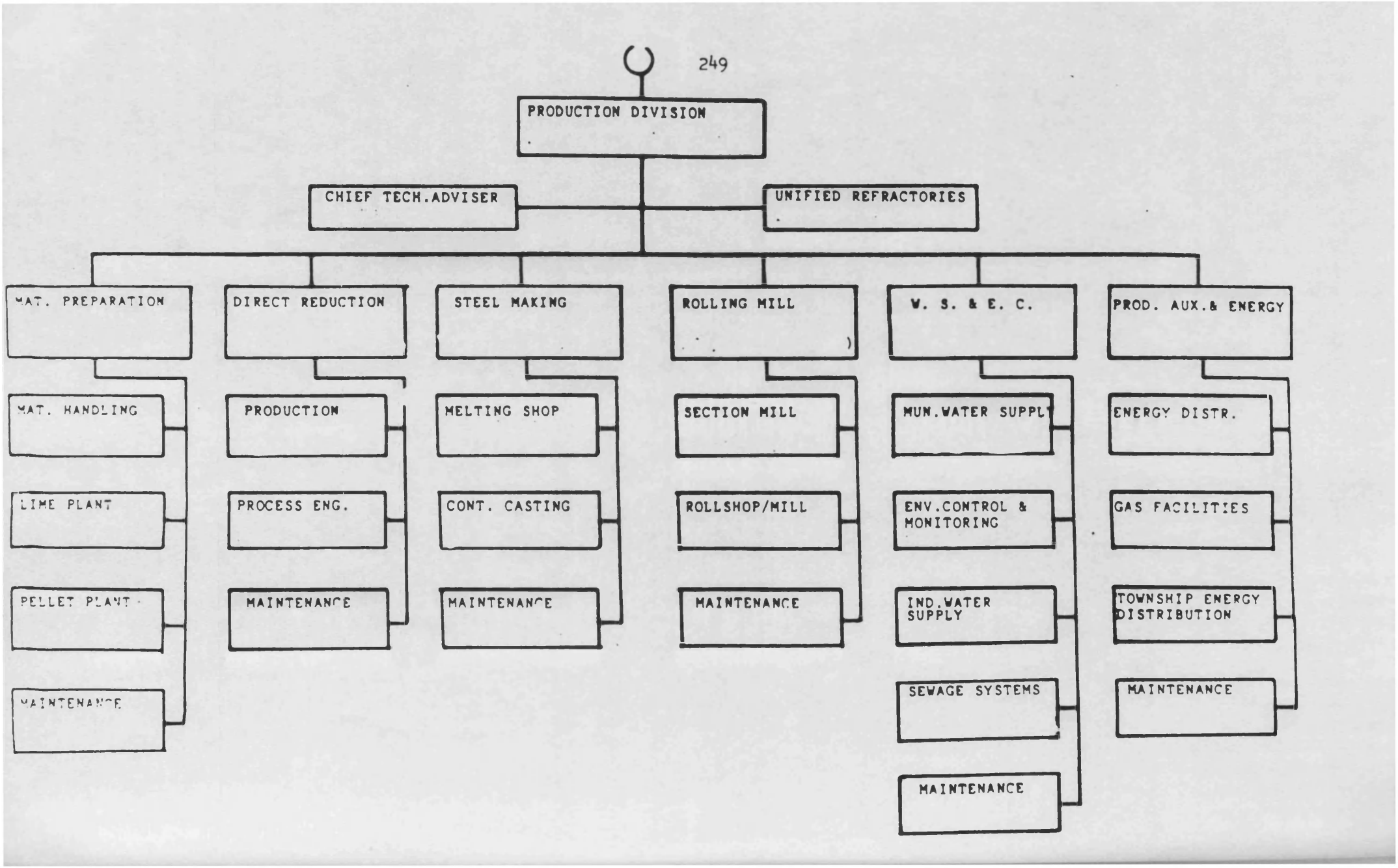
production division, the technical services division, the General Managers division(office), the commercial division,the financial division and the administrative division. Each division is headed by an Assistant General Manager who is responsible to the General Manager. Within each division, there is what is referred to as sectors. Each sector is headed by a manager who is responsible to the assistant general manager. For example, in the production division there are six sectors namely, material preparation,direct reduction, steel making, rolling mill, production auxillary and energy. Each of these sectors is headed by a manager who is responsible to the assistant general manager in charge of that division. Of particular significance to the theme of this thesis is the existence in the administrative division of an industrial relations sector. This sector supposedly handles employee relations and staff welfare. The industrial relations sector confers with workers every Tuesdays. In these regular meetings, complaints of various kinds are brought forward and solutions are sought. Officials of the industrial relations sector always promise to solve each of the problems brought forward by workers, although it usually takes a long while for any such complaints to be effectively solved. Sometimes complaints arising from such meetings went through the gamut of the organizational hierarchy (e.g.,from the assistant general manager to the general manager, etc.) before they were finally resolved. Once workers' complaints were referred to the top (officers in the top echelons of the organizational hierarchy), it took a long while sometimes up to four months (since top public official were stereotypically regarded as 'busy'

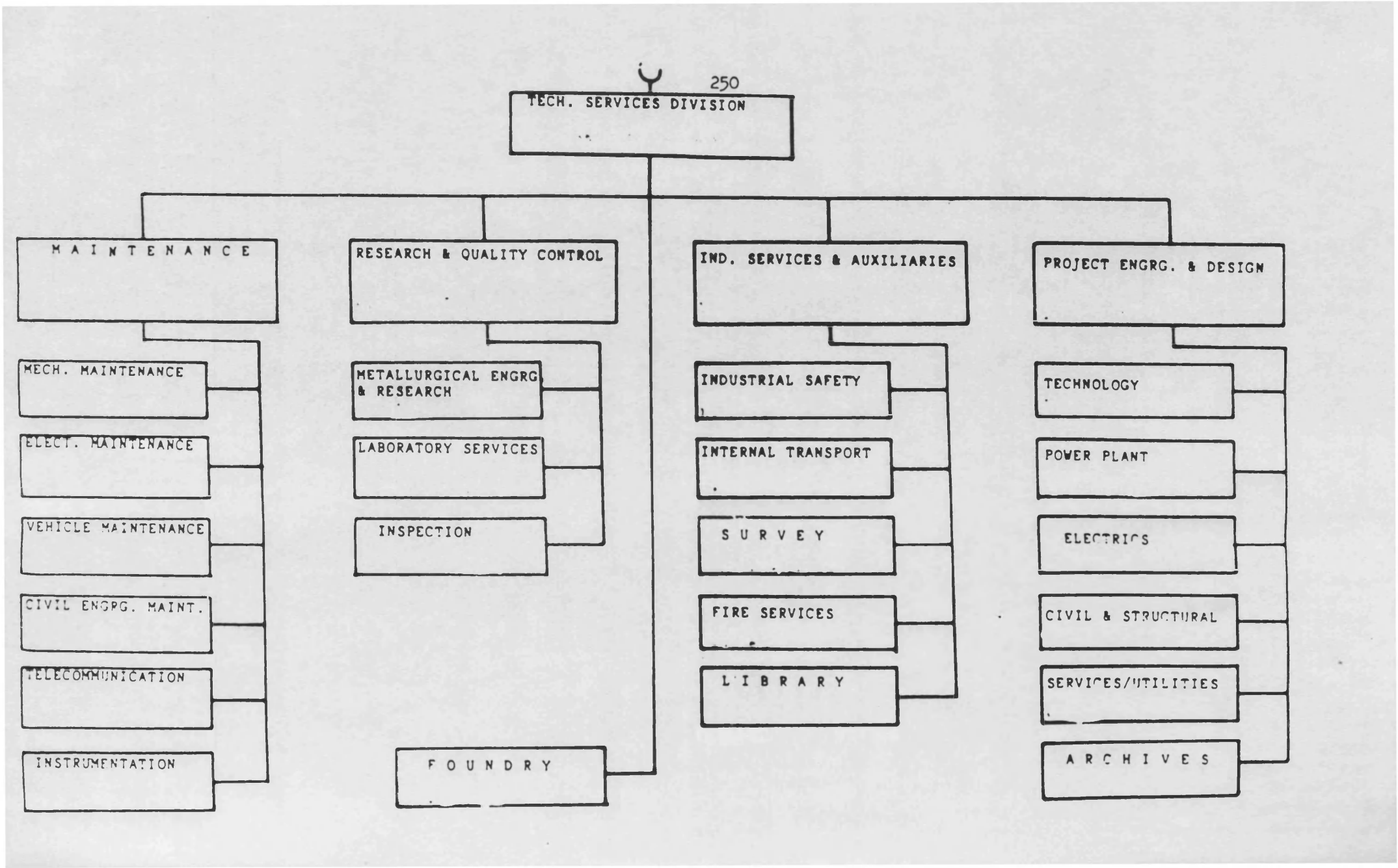
people)before feedback was received. Within the industrial relations sector there was a welfare subsector which supposedly took care of workers'welfare. This welfare subsector ran a co-operative store on the premises of the company.'Essential commodities', as they are now commonly called, were stocked in this co-operative store to enable workers buy at reduced prices. When a member of staff passed away the welfare sub-sector was notified, and they usually sent a representative to the funeral ceremony. As all-embracing as the organizational structure seems, workers here have indicated that the inherent rigidity of the organizational structure is one of the causes of the high rate of turnover in this company. According to the General Manager the company is losing trained staff to other organizations because of its inadequate conditions of service which, he argued, were still patterned along the civil service structure. Another fact that came to light in the course of the field work was that decisions on certain crucial organizational matters were thrust on this company by the Ministry to which it is affiliated.If we go back to the organizatinal structure, you will notice that the General Manager, who was the overall boss of the company, was himself responsible to a board of directors appointed by the Federal Government. Members of this board were reponsible to the Minister for Mines and Power,who may possess little or no expertise in steel production. He may have secured the appointment as a result of party patronage.Thus, the minister might rely on the 'expert' advice of the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry.

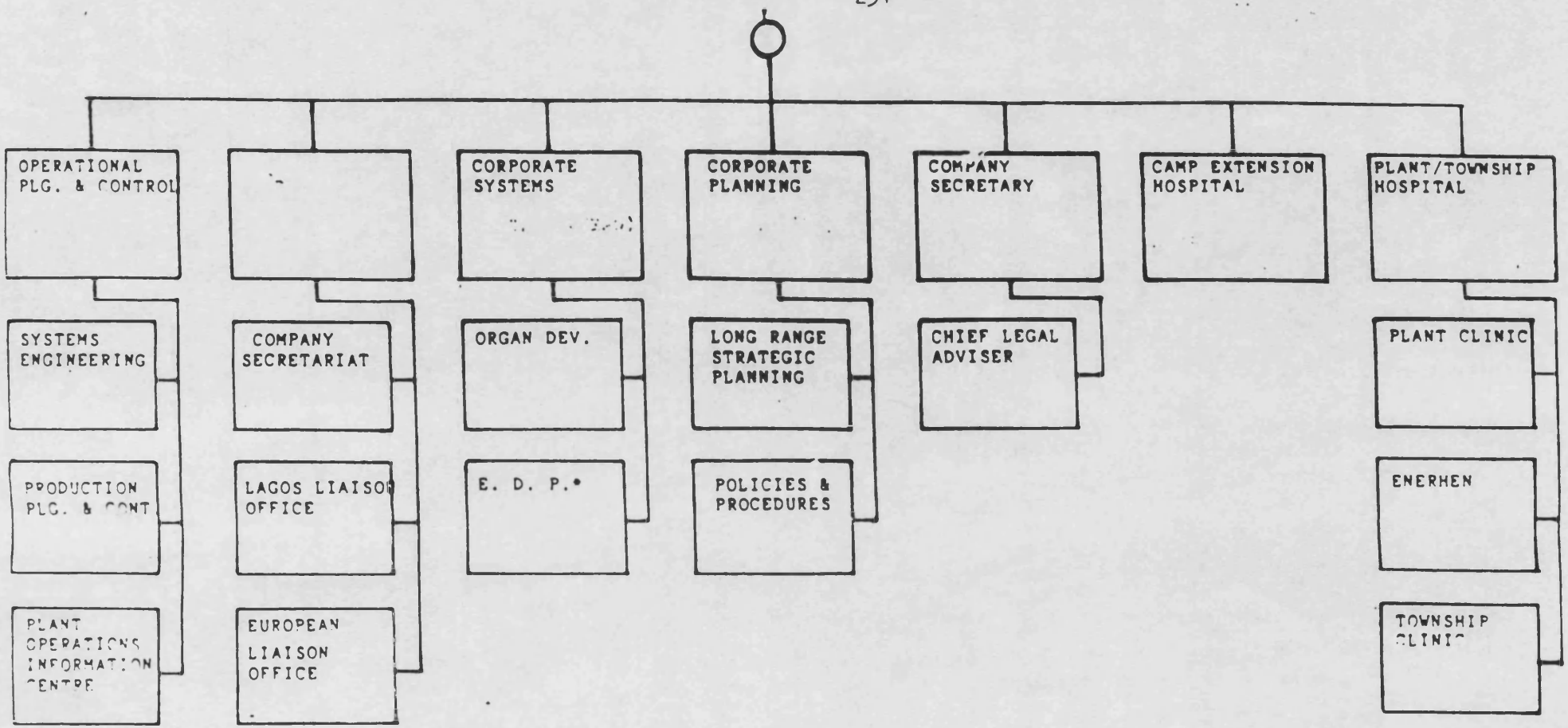
DELTA STEEL COMPANY LIMITED ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE



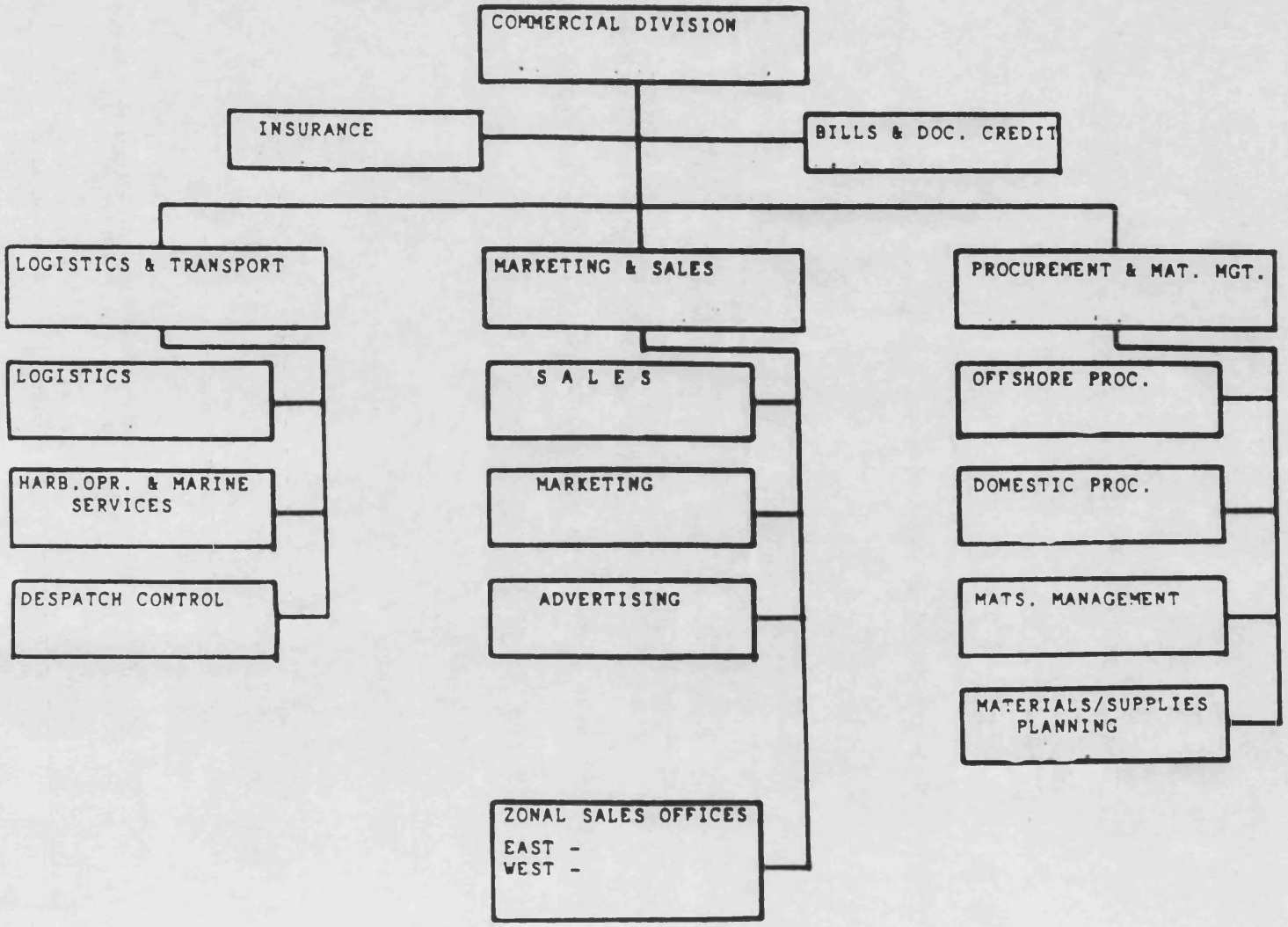
*P.A.I.D. - Public Affairs and Information Department *CPC - Chief Project Consultant

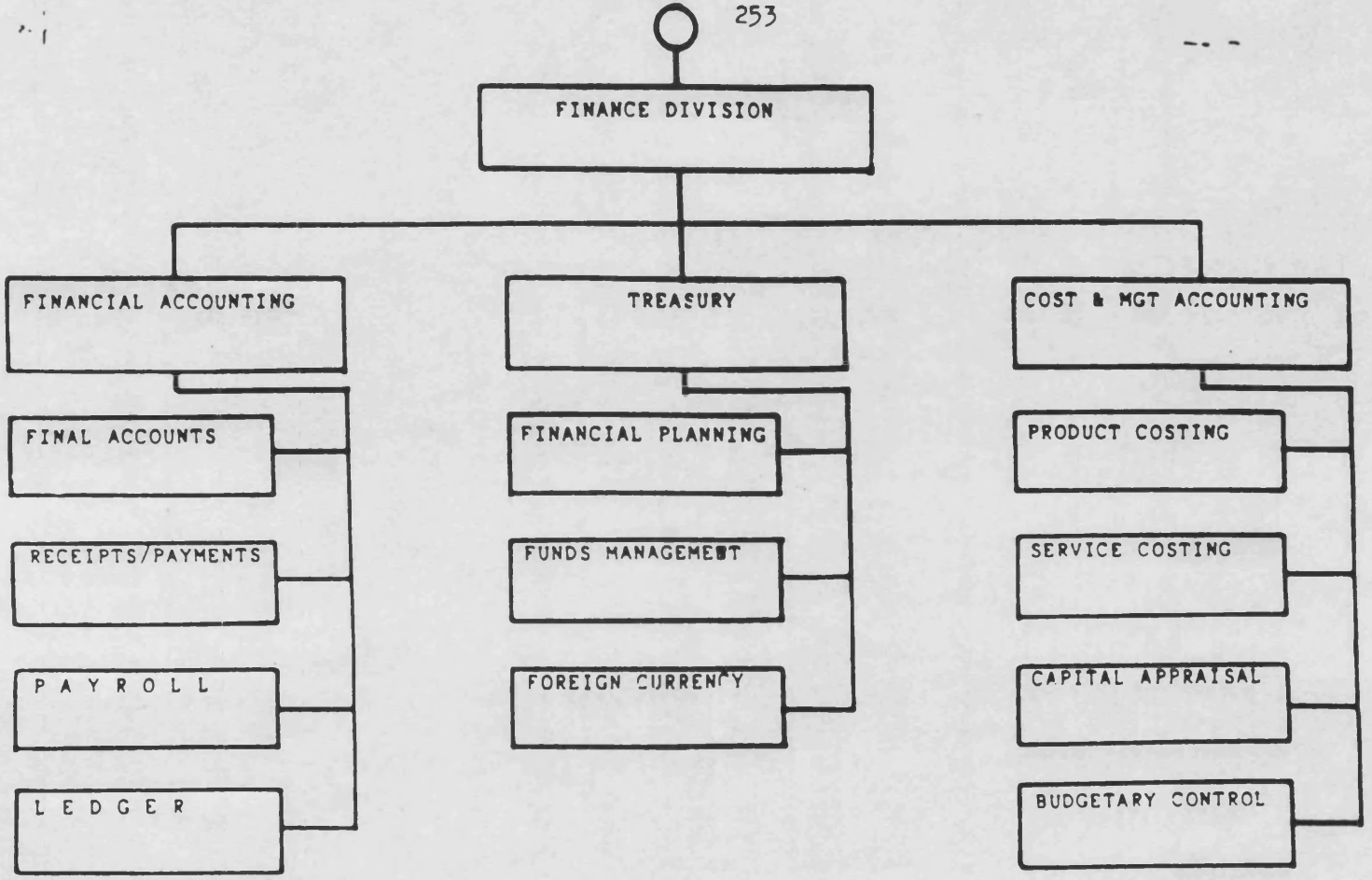

PRODUCTION DIVISION
CHIEF TECH.ADVISER
UNIFIED REFRACTORIES
MAT. PREPARATION
DIRECT REDUCTION
STEEL MAKING
ROLLING MILL
W. S. & E. C.
PROD. AUX.& ENERGY
MAT. HANDLING
LIME PLANT
PELLET PLANT
MAINTENANCE
PRODUCTION
PROCESS ENG.
MAINTENANCE
MELTING SHOP
CONT. CASTING
MAINTENANCE
SECTION MILL
ROLLSHOP/MILL
MAINTENANCE
MUN.WATER SUPPL
ENV.CONTROL & MONITORING
IND.WATER SUPPLY
SEWAGE SYSTEMS
MAINTENANCE
ENERGY DISTR.
GAS FACILITIES
TOWNSHIP ENERGY DISTRIBUTION
MAINTENANCE

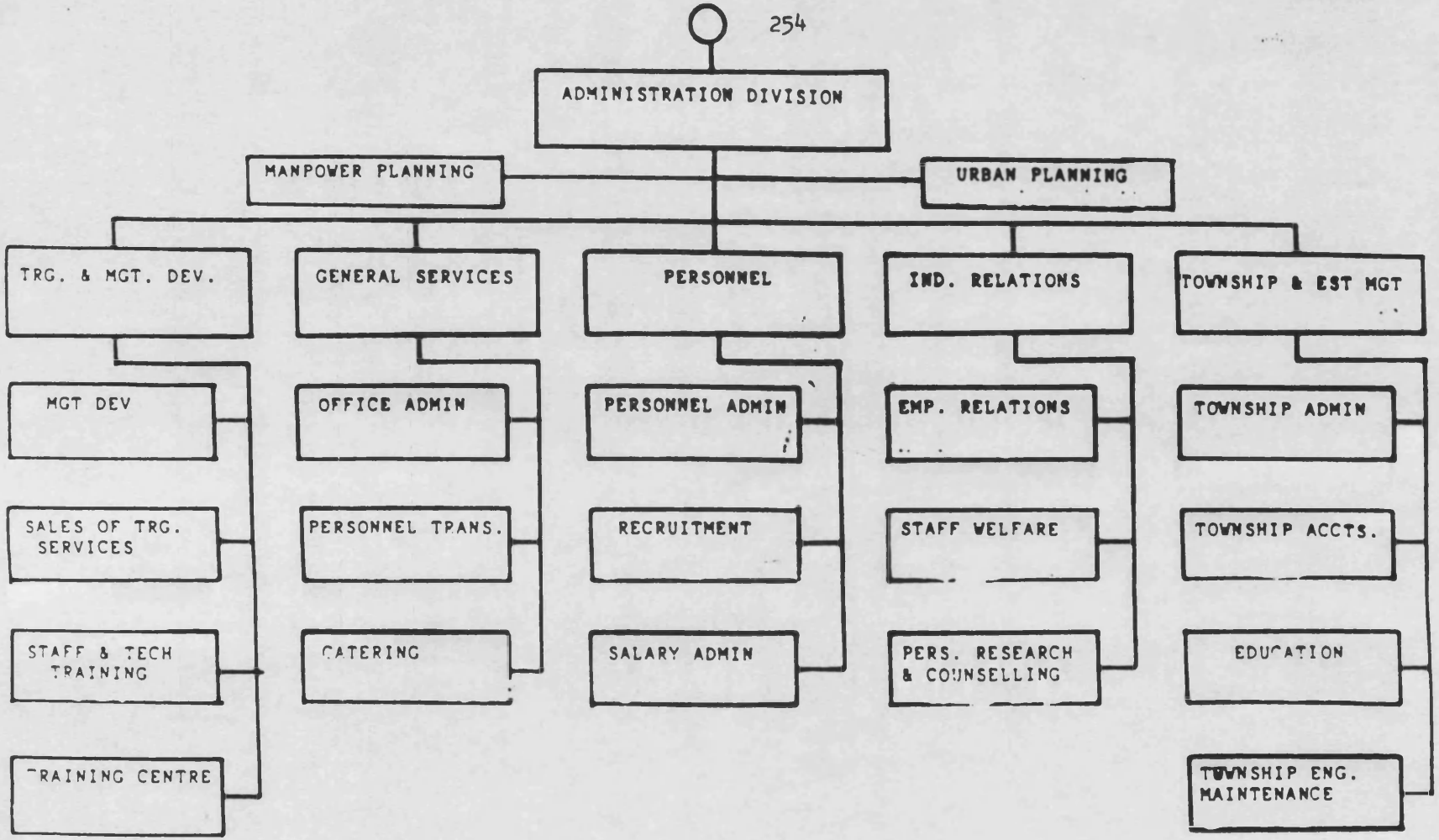

TECH. SERVICES DIVISION
MAINTENANCE
MECH. MAINTENANCE
ELECT. MAINTENANCE
VEHICLE MAINTENANCE
CIVIL ENGRG. MAINT.
TELECOMMUNICATION
INSTRUMENTATION
RESEARCH & QUALITY CONTROL
METALLURGICAL ENGRG & RESEARCH
LABORATORY SERVICES
INSPECTION
FOUNDRY
IND. SERVICES & AUXILIARIES
INDUSTRIAL SAFETY
INTERNAL TRANSPORT
SURVEY
FIRE SERVICES
LIBRARY
PROJECT ENGRG. & DESIGN
TECHNOLOGY
POWER PLANT
ELECTRICS
CIVIL & STRUCTURAL
SERVICES/UTILITIES
ARCHIVES



*E.D.P. - Electronic Data Processing.


COMMERCIAL DIVISION
INSURANCE
BILLS & DOC. CREDIT
LOGISTICS & TRANSPORT
MARKETING & SALES
PROCUREMENT & MAT. MGT.
LOGISTICS
HARB.OPR. & MARINE SERVICES
DESPATCH CONTROL
S A L E S
MARKETING
ADVERTISING
ZONAL SALES OFFICES
EAST -
WEST -
OFFSHORE PROC.
DOMESTIC PROC.
MATS. MANAGEMENT
MATERIALS/SUPPLIES PLANNING


FINANCE DIVISION
FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING
FINAL ACCOUNTS
RECEIPTS/PAYMENTS
P A Y R O L L
L E D G E R
TREASURY
FINANCIAL PLANNING
FUNDS MANAGEMENT
FOREIGN CURRENCY
COST & MGT ACCOUNTING
PRODUCT COSTING
SERVICE COSTING
CAPITAL APPRAISAL
BUDGETARY CONTROL


ADMINISTRATION DIVISION
MANPOWER PLANNING
URBAN PLANNING
TRG. & MGT. DEV.
GENERAL SERVICES
PERSONNEL
IND. RELATIONS
TOWNSHIP & EST MGT
MGT DEV
SALES OF TRG. SERVICES
STAFF & TECH TRAINING
TRAINING CENTRE
OFFICE ADMIN
PERSONNEL TRANS.
CATERING
PERSONNEL ADMIN
RECRUITMENT
SALARY ADMIN
EMP. RELATIONS
STAFF WELFARE
PERS. RESEARCH & COUNSELLING
TOWNSHIP ADMIN
TOWNSHIP ACCTS.
EDUCATION
TOWNSHIP ENG. MAINTENANCE

This is based on the assumption that the permanent secretary is knowledgeable in steel matters. If the permanent secretary,like the minister, knew very little about the intricacies of steel production, then the seeds of retrograde and uneconomic decisions have been sown. In this regard, the permanent secretary may endorse decisions which were consonant with clauses in his party manifesto but were not necessarily in the economic interest of the nation. In the ultimate analysis, quality in decision making is sacrificed for parochial ethnic and party considerations, and the work and workers' morale suffer.Of equal importance, is the fact that decisions which may ultimately increaase organizational prouctivity may be rejected by a particular minister,if he realises that majority of those in support of the decision come from a rival party. The minister would surely be cognizant of the merits such a decision, once implemented, would bring to the organization and its workers, but in line with party principle, decisions sponsored by his party men receive priority consideration in terms of endorsement. The number of popular decisions initiated by a party is one method of assessing party performance, and every party wants to be seen as performing better than the other. Even with regards to employment, non-possession of a particular party card (usually the party in power) may disqualify an applicant from securing a job for which he was otherwise sufficiently qualified.

A residual consequence of undue emphasis on ethnic or party considerations in public organizatins is red tape, which invariably delays decision adoption and implementation. One vivid illustration

is the insufficient energy supply to the steel company. Although steel and energy supply fall under the same ministry, it has taken more than four years for the ministry to agree to allocate adequate energy supply to the steel company to enable it produce at installed capacity. Virtually all the officials in the ministry are unanimous on the need to step up energy supply to the company, but the actual implementation of this additional energy allocation is yet to be made because of internal organizational politics. As at mid-November 1986, the management of the steel company was still clamouring for the urgent need to increase the energy supply to the company. It may take a long while for this call to be heeded. This procrastination is ,arguably, due to the aforementioned public organizational bottlenecks, e.g., rigidity, lack of personal initiatives, party patronage, etc. It should also be specifically noted that, as flawless as this organizational struture looks on paper, these aforementioned man-made problems impair its functioning. These man-made problems create the red tape which slows down the decision-making process and, in turn, influences workers attitudes in adverse directions.

Considering the huge capital and human investments in the steel company, coupled with the popular belief at the time of its inception that the company would technologically transform the country, I decided to include this company in this study. I specifically wanted to determine whether the structural dynamics within the firm were such (as people were generally made to believe) that could elicit positive work attitudes from workers in the

organization. I shall now examine some bacground information on both the Federal University of Technology and the city where it is located.

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY,YOLA

Universities of technology are a recent phenomenon in Nigeria's educational history. At the time of the interview,the controversy as to the usefulness of technological universities was still raging. The argument centred on the desirability of establishing new technological universities when existing conventional universities were being starved of funds.

The decision to establish the Federal University of Technology, Yola, (which was one of the seven technology universities established in 1981) was essentially political. The decision was in partial fulfilment of Shagari's campaign promise to provide qualitative and functional education at all levels. It was, as a matter of fact, part of a comprehensive package which included the following features:

1.Federal Government support for science teaching in elementary schools throughout the country.
2.Local manufacture of science equipment as a way of achieving (1) above.
3.Support for provision of equipment for wood workshops,metal work workshops, and mechanical workshops in junior secondary schools

throughout the country, to facilitate implementation of pre-vocational training envisaged under the new national education policy of the so-called 6334 programme.

4.Establishment of eighteen more federal technical schools (similar to the federal technical school in Yola) in other states of the federation.

5.Provision of 12 new federal polytechnics (in addition to the seven existing ones) throughout the country.

6.Establishment of ten new Federal Advanced Colleges/Colleges of Education (in addition to the nine existing ones) throughout the country.

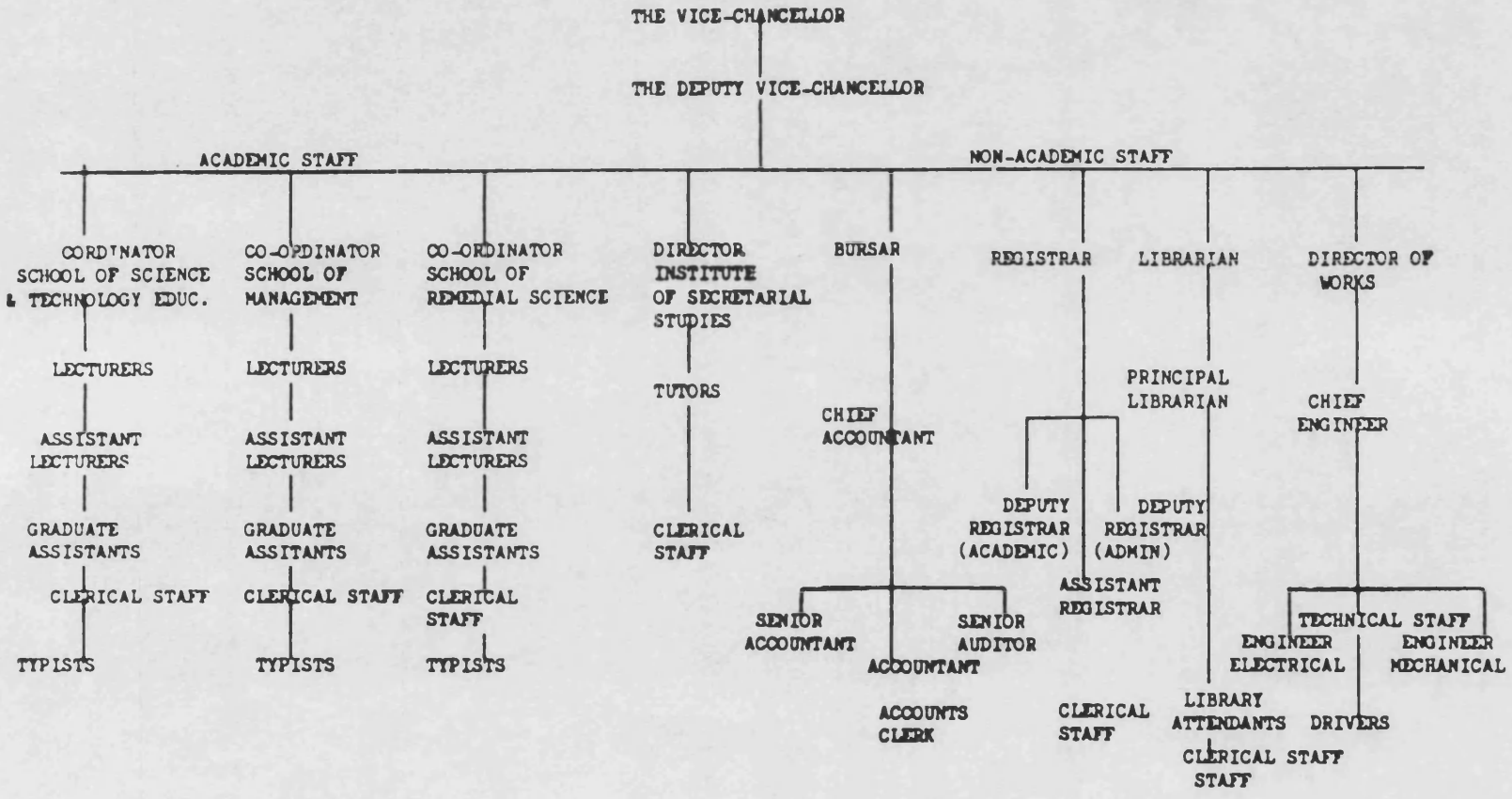
The common denominator in all of these proposed institutions was the emphasis on science and technology. It was widely argued that if the country hoped to find her way into the modern technological age and, perhaps, catch-up with the developed world, it needed accelerated progress in the scientific and technological field. To achieve this, the country needed to revamp and re-order priorities in her educational policy. It is in the light of this that a new educational programme which emphasized technical and vocational training, was adopted. Thus, the 'bookish' and literary type of education which was largely geared to producing 'white collar'workers was relegated,because it was no longer appropriate for the development requirements of the country.

It was the realisation of the need to devise a new development strategy based on technological innovation that made the Shagari

administration to attach priority importance to the establishment of the new universities of technology. The Federal University of Technology was established on paper in 1981, although, it took another year for academic activities to effectively commence. At the time of the interview in 1985 the staff strength of the university (both academic and non-academic) was 220. I was interested in including the Federal University of Technology in this study because, being a new phenomenon at the time,its potential contribution to national development was, I believed, over exaggerated. I wanted to find out if the University possessed organizational features that were spectacularly different from other public organizations that could induce positive attitudes (in these workers)as well as perform the ambitious role of technologically transforming the country as was generally predicted. As you can see from Table 2, the administration of the University was vested in the person of the Vice-Chancellor. The administration of the University was undoubtedly centralized. Virtually every decision was either taken or endorsed by the Vice-Chancellor before it was implemented. The Vice-Chancellor was the chief executive of the university. Next to the Vice-Chancellor was the Deputy Vice-Chancellor whose position was vacant at the time of the interview. In the non-academic section there were four subdivisions, the bursary, the academic registry, the library and the works division. The bursary division was supposed to be headed by a bursar,but the position was deliberately left vacant (for reasons that will be explained later) at the time of the interview. The bursary, at this point in time, was headed by a Chief Accountant. The position of the

Academic Registrar was for the same reasons left vacant, and the Registry was headed by an Assistant Registrar instead of a full fledged Registrar. These vacancies did not mean a dearth of qualified persons. Rather, the chief executive of the university wanted to be personally involved in all facets of the University administration, and the appointment of senior officers could have jeopardised this intention. There were other powerful forces(that cannot be named) who had links with the university and who had to be consulted before certain vacant
positions were filled. For the post of the Registrar, a person with some specific religious belief was desired. For example,when an interview was conducted for the position of the University Registrar, one of the five candidates who was found particularly eligible for the job, could not be appointed on grounds of his religious beliefs. The interview panel had recommended that this particular candidate be appointed without delay, but the authorities refused to endorse the recommendation because the candidate was a Christian and the authorities wanted a Muslim to fill that particular position. In the library section there was no Chief Librarian. This section was headed by a Senior Librarian.In the works division, there was also no Director of Works.This section was headed by a Chief Engineeer. In the academic division the two schools (school of management science and the school of science) were headed by professors who were directly responsible to the Vice-Chancellor. In principle, there was a school board and a senate whose members were hand picked by the vice-chancellor. These organs were ineffective because the members were handpicked.

TABLE 2


THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
THE DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR
ACADEMIC STAFF
NON-ACADEMIC STAFF
CORDINATOR SCHOOL OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY EDUC.
CO-ORDINATOR SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT
CO-ORDINATOR SCHOOL OF REMEDIAL SCIENCE
DIRECTOR INSTITUTE OF SECRETARIAL STUDIES
BURSAR
REGISTRAR
LIBRARIAN
DIRECTOR OF WORKS
LECTURERS
LECTURERS
LECTURERS
TUTORS
PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN
CHIEF ENGINEER
CHIEF ACCOUNTANT
ASSISTANT LECTURERS
ASSISTANT LECTURERS
ASSISTANT LECTURERS
DEPUTY REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)
DEPUTY REGISTRAR (ADMIN)
GRADUATE ASSISTANTS
GRADUATE ASSITANTS
GRADUATE ASSISTANTS
CLERICAL STAFF
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR
CLERICAL STAFF
CLERICAL STAFF
CLERICAL STAFF
TECHNICAL STAFF
SENIOR ACCOUNTANT
SENIOR AUDITOR
ENGINEER ELECTRICAL
ENGINEER MECHANICAL
ACCOUNTANT
ACCOUNTS CLERK
CLERICAL STAFF
LIBRARY ATTENDANTS
DRIVERS
CLERICAL STAFF
TYPISTS
TYPISTS
TYPISTS

Members of these bodies were uncritical of the unpopular policies (and they were numerous) of the vice-chancellor.There was a lot of praise-singing and boot-licking. The vice-chancellor thrived on false popularity. He was ever cautious of his official position and constantly insisted on the trappings (e.g.,cars,allowances, etc.) that went with that office. Above all, he hoodwinked himself in the thought that he could never be wrong as far as organizational decisions were concerned.Absorbed in this falsehood, he brazenly circumvented decisions made at different levels of the organizational hierarchy. This arbitrariness was his major undoing because he was the first to be relieved of his post when the Federal University was merged with the University of Maiduguri.

It is important to note the high degree of centralization in the university administration. The deliberate non-appointment of key officers of the university (registrar, bursar, librarian and the director of works) implied that the Vice-Chancellor was immediately involved in the administration of all aspects of the university. There was virtually no delegation of responsibility. At one point, the Vice-Chancellor was the only signatory of the university account. He personally interviewed contractors who supplied books to the library and also got involved in the award of contracts for the construction of houses, blocks of classrooms, bore holes, etc., on the university campus. Contracts which could otherwise have been expertly handled, had there been a substantive director of works, were shoddily executed because the Vice-Chancellor with only a mediocre knowledge of construction matters,had no way of

ascertaining workmanship. It soon became evident that most of the houses were not well constructed. For example,the entire roof of a student hostel was blown off during a downpour in late 1983(this was barely a year after construction work was completed). By late 1983 the walls of several of the classrooms had began to develop cracks while several lecturers' houses had leaking roofs.

In the academic division, the Vice-Chancellor had the final say in academic matters.For example , in the school of management in 1982 an American professor, who was then the head of the school of management and who was in Yola on the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor (specifically because he had been the Vice-Chancellor's professor when the VC was a college student in the United States), drew up an economics syllabus for first year economics students. Although this syllabus was generally acclaimed by members of the school as excellent, the Vice-Chancellor (a mathematician by training) turned it down on grounds that the syllabus did not reflect the philosophy of the university. According to the Vice-Chancellor,the syllabus must be fused, in whatever way,with the philosophy of the university. The university philosophy aimed:

> To develop moral and competent professional leaders with abilities to perceive and promote the common good in the both public and private sectors of the state and the nation. The university would apply systematic rational thought and analysis, fortified with practical experience, to the creation and management of knowledge, wealth and values in Nigeria and Africa.

> It aimed to produce graduates who not only had an acute sense of values, but were ready to suffer rather than retaliate. Graduates who had the professional competence to produce wealth for their fellow men. It aimed also to educate leaders who not only knew what to do in their spheres of activity and how, but also why (see The handbook of Federal University, Yola,1983,p.5).

Federal University of Technology, Yola, therefore, tried to blend theoretical knowledge with practical work. The degree of success achieved was minimal because, not very long after these grandiose plans were conceived, a change of the country's government was effected. The new leadership promulgated a decree which merged the Federal University of Technology, Yola, with the University of Maiduguri in late 1984. The government justified its action by arguing that the difference between technological and conventional universities was only in name and not in academic curricular.

The overt centralization of the university administration meant that the Vice-Chancellor had to be physically present even for menial technical jobs to be effectively accomplished. When the Vice-Chancellor went on an official or unofficial trip outside of the Yola metropolis, the administration of the university virtually ground to a halt. All the workers had a field-day and many of them even abandoned work for as long as the Vice-Chancellor was away. Despite the enormous amount of power wielded by the Vice-Chancellor, he was responsible to the university's governing council (a body to

which the author officially belonged by virtue of representing the university congregation). The governing council, like the vice-chancellor, was politiically selected. This body officially met three times a year to adopt or ratify decisions already taken by the Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the university.A governing council meeting was, more or less, a forum where intense lobbying went on for approval to be given to construction project(s) or university policy(ies). As usual, the vice-chancellor was at the centre of debates. Being the chief executive of the university, he either initiated particular projects or had vested interests in awarding contracts to particular persons. Apart from the academics, who were interested in presenting the pros and cons of the issues being debated, other members of the council were less interested in the debates and more concerned about cash benefits that would accrue to them from these contracts, once awarded. The council members could afford to be nonchalant about university council debates because they were not responsible to anyone. Membership of the governing council was a reward for the active role they had played in the party during the election period. They certainly had parted with some huge sums of money to the party's coffers (during the election). Now that their party candidate had become president, he has rewarded their efforts by appointing them as council members. Thus, they were bound to seize on any opportunity to replenish their pockets. The fledgling Federal University of Technology, Yola with a plethora of contract awards for several construction projects, presented an ideal circumstance for such replenishment.

Although the governing council approves programmes of study for the university, it is the NUC (Nigerian Universities Commission) that has the ultimate responsibility for making the final decision with regards to academic programmes in Nigerian universities. The Nigerian Universities Commission is responsible to the Federal Ministry of Education. The Federal, Ministry of Education is advised by the National Council on Education on the desirability or otherwise of academic programmes in all facets of learning in the country. It is crucial to mention these educational bodies (Nigerian Universities Commission,Federal Ministry of Education and the National Council on Education) because decisions regarding academic programmes cannot be arbitrarily taken without consulting these bodies. For example, in 1983 the Vice-Chancellor arbitrarily introduced the schools of agriculture and veterinary medicine. The vice-chancellor invited experts from America and Canada to prepare programmes of study for the proposed schools. When the programmes of study were ready,the vice-chancellor appended his signature and sent it to the Nigerian Universities commission to give the final endorsement. The Nigerian Universities Commission left this document on the shelf for about a year and finally rejected it on grounds that there were no funds, and that the university was too young to expand. I shall now examine the Federal Ministry of Works, Yola.

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING, YOLA

I decided to draw samples from the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing because this ministry at this time was engaged with a

nation-wide programme that was meant to provide shelter for the low income section of the society. The Ministry of Works and Housing is about the largest in the entire civil service structure. The staff strength of the entire ministry is put at about 55,000,but the branch in Yola, which is the focus of our study, is made up of 180 workers. The Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Yola, is relatively new (created with the new state in 1976) and was caught up in the world wide recession just about the time it needed money to expand. The economic squeeze resulting from the world-wide recesssionary pressure, which was compounded by large scale fraud in Nigerian public organizations made it difficult for this organization to secure enough money to pay workers let alone complete the several projects that were overwhelmingly abandoned during the Shagari epoch. Because of the scarcity of funds,even routine maintainance of federal highways became a problem.

This ministry has, over the years, consistently received a huge percentage of the federal budget. The ministry came into the limelight because of its shoddy handling of the low cost houses which were aimed at sheltering the 'common people'. Huge sums of money pumped into the low cost housing project were siphoned into personal pockets, to the extent that there was a public outcry that the affairs of the ministry should be probed. It was widely alleged that several of the contracts awarded in these project were over-inflated. For example, a 2 bedroom flat that could normally be built at the cost of 20,000 naira was contracted out at betweeen 30 and 40 thousand naira. Across the country the story was the same. Either a

wall caved-in in one of the federal houses (as they were usually called) in the northern part of the country or a roof was blown off in a rain storm in the southern part. It soon became evident that many of these houses were uninhabitable (in some states these houses were certified uninhabitable and residents were ordered to move out of them). As law abiding citizens moved out,men of the underworld (particularly armed robbers) moved in and soon made these places hideouts for armed banditry. Apart from the fact that these structures were rickety, ministry officials in collusion with contractors defrauded the government of enormous sums of money by including non-existent names in the list of those who, by right, were supposed to be compensated by the governement. These were the people whose land the government had taken over for the purpose of the low cost housing project. The government decided that all the trees in each person's land should be added up and a standard rate paid on each tree. Unscrupulous government officials made fortunes aout of this situation. Non-existent names were compiled and, in some areas,trees were hurriedly planted and counted, to increase the amount of compensation to be received from the government. The extent of corruption in this ministry, at this time, immensely dented its image.

When the Buhari administration came into being in late 1983, a lot of the ministry officials absconded in fear of an official probe into the activities of the ministry. Even the minister in charge of the ministry fled overseas. As soon as the Buhari administration settled down to the business of government, several commissions of

inquiry were set up to probe the past public functionaries (the majority of these people had already been clamped into detention at this period). As expected, these investigations revealed that virtually all the contracts awarded in the low cost housing project were over-inflated. Apart from over-inflation of contracts,several contractors also received money without executing the projects for which these amounts were meant. Several contractors and some functionaries in the works ministry were ordered to refund various amounts of money to the governmnment treasury. In addition to refunding money to the government,some bagged jail terms ranging from five to twenty five years. Within the ministry, there were also revelations of gross mismanagement, fraud and inefficiency. Officials who were found wanting were summarily dismissed and a machinery was set up to advice government on how to re-organize the ministry.

These dismissals do not necessarily have any deterrent effect on those remaining in public organizations. For example,when Major General Murtala Mohammed set out to reform the public service in 1976, many corrupt public officials (including some innocent ones) were sent packing. As soon as the exercise was over,several of those who were genuinely corrupt (because they were proven so beyond any reasonable doubt) were reinstated in their previous jobs. Some of these people had highly influential 'Godfathers' or ethnic 'connections'. Since there is consistent regularity in the abruptness of change of Nigerian governments, many of these dismissed public officers take solace in the hope that a new

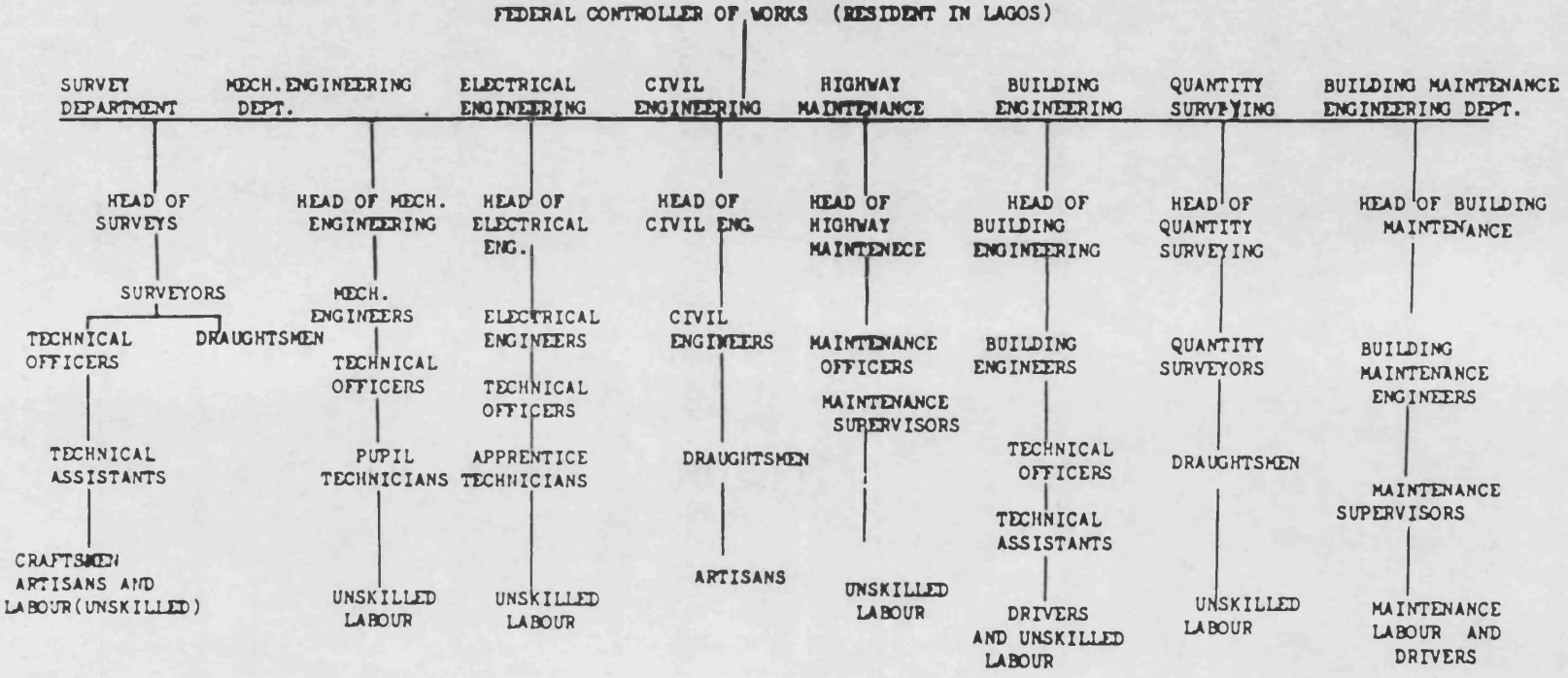
government would come and change their fortune. It is not unusual for a new government to reinstate former public officers who were dismissed because of corruption. For example, when the Buhari administration came to power in late 1983, it reinstated a top public functionary in the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. This was an individual who was found corrupt and dismissed with ignominy by the previous military regime. Thus, mass dismissals of corrupt public officials does not necessarily deter other public workers from perpetrating negative behaviours.

As Table 3 depicts, there are eight sections in the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing,Yola. These eight sections are:the survey department, the mechanical engineering department,the electrical engineering department, the quantity surveying department, the civil engineering department, the highway maintainance department, the building engineering department and the building maintainance engineering department. Each department is headed by a professional who has had many years of experience on the job. For example,the survey department is headed by a qualified and experienced surveyor. His designation is HOS(Head of Surveys). Under the Head of Surveys are a team of graduate surveyors.Below this category of surveyors are the technicians, first, the technical officers and, then, the technical assistants. The craftmen, artisans and unskilled labour bring up the rear in this department of the Ministry. These same positions are replicated in the other seven departments of the ministry. These various heads of departments are all responsible to the Federal Controller of Works who is resident in Lagos (more than

a thousand kilometres away). Since there are no telecommunication facilities in the Ministry, the Heads of Departments have to physically travel to Lagos in order to confer with the Controller. The Heads of Departments are allowed to circumvent the office of the Controller if they feel the controller is not competent in the particular area for which they need advice. In this case, they could go to the overal boss(the Permanent Secretary) of the Ministry. The organizational chart,on paper, looks simple and straight forward,but in practice several inherent problems exist. One such problem area is the communication gap that exists between the Federal Controller of Works and the various heads of department. The Federal Controller of Works, because of the distance that seperates him from these heads of departments and the lack of telecommunication facilities, could be left in the dark about activities in the states, especially if a head of department has a vested interest in a particular project. The Controller relies solely on heads of departments for information about on-going projects in the states. And, there is little or no way by which the controller can determine the authenticity of this information. Sometimes information is distorted or deliberately falsified along the way. For example, during the Shagari Administration which was known for its indiscriminate award of contracts (a practice which made some observers to label it derisively as an administration that was based on 'contractocracy'). Several heads of departments defrauded the government by falsifying the actual number of houses that have been constructed in their states.

TABLE 3

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF WORKS, HOUSING AND SURVEY, YOLA.



Where there were 200 blocks of flats, for example,figures of between 300 and 400 were given. Besides, some of these heads of departments in collaboration with other officials became contractors using close friends and relatives as fronts. Thus, these workers were using their public positions to achieve their private ambitions of eventually setting up their own businesses. It is pertinent to present this background information on public organizations because it will enable us to better understand the responses made by these people to our questions. I shall now examine the private organizations included in this study.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

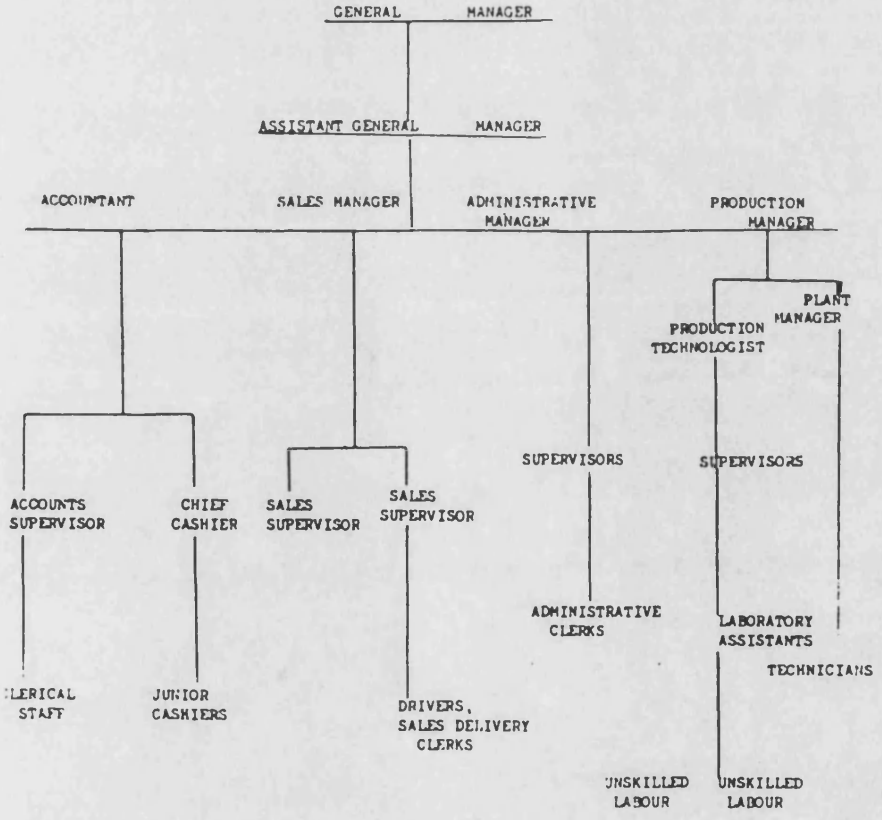
FARO BOTTLING COMPANY,YOLA

Faro Bottling Company,Yola,Gongola state is a partnership between Europlan (an Italian consortium) and some indigenous businessmen. Europlan owns 40% of the equity while the indigenous businessmen own 60%. Established in 1980, this company produces the Africola and Zit brands of soft drink. It is the first and the only botling company in Gongola state at the moment. Some individuals have described it as'a soft drink oasis' in the extensive desert region of north-east Nigeria. This company has a staff strength of 144, the majority of whom are indigenes of Gongola.The head(General Manager) of the bottling company is Italian. The next person to the General Manager is a Nigerian. There are four sections in this company(see in Table 4). The General Manager was responsible to the board of directors of

the company. Next to the General Manager was the Assistant General Manager. Below the Assistant General Manager were four unit heads (or managers) in charge of the four sections of the company. These four sections were: the Accounts Section, which was headed by an accountant;the sales section headed by a sales manager,the administrative section, headed by an administrative manager and the production section headed by a production manager. Under these four managers,were the sectional supervisors who were in charge of the clerical staff and the unskilled labour in this section of the company. One striking feature of this organization was that virtually all the skilled foreign personnel were in the production section including the production manager. This is presumably due to the specialized skills which these foreigners possessed. The accountant, the sales manager as well as the administrative manager were Nigerians. The sales department was especially important to the survival of this organization, and as a result there was an aggressive marketing strategy to ensure that sufficient profit was made to keep the company afloat. To achieve this profit maximization objective,several sales depots were established in the major towns in the northern states. Sales supervisors conducted sales in these depots and frequently reported back to the sales manager in the headquarter. Each supervisor had a delivery truck attached to him to facilitate the supply of these products in and around Gongola State.The language of communication in this company, like most private companies in this state, was Hausa.

TABLE 4

FAHO BOTTLING COMPANY, YOLA.



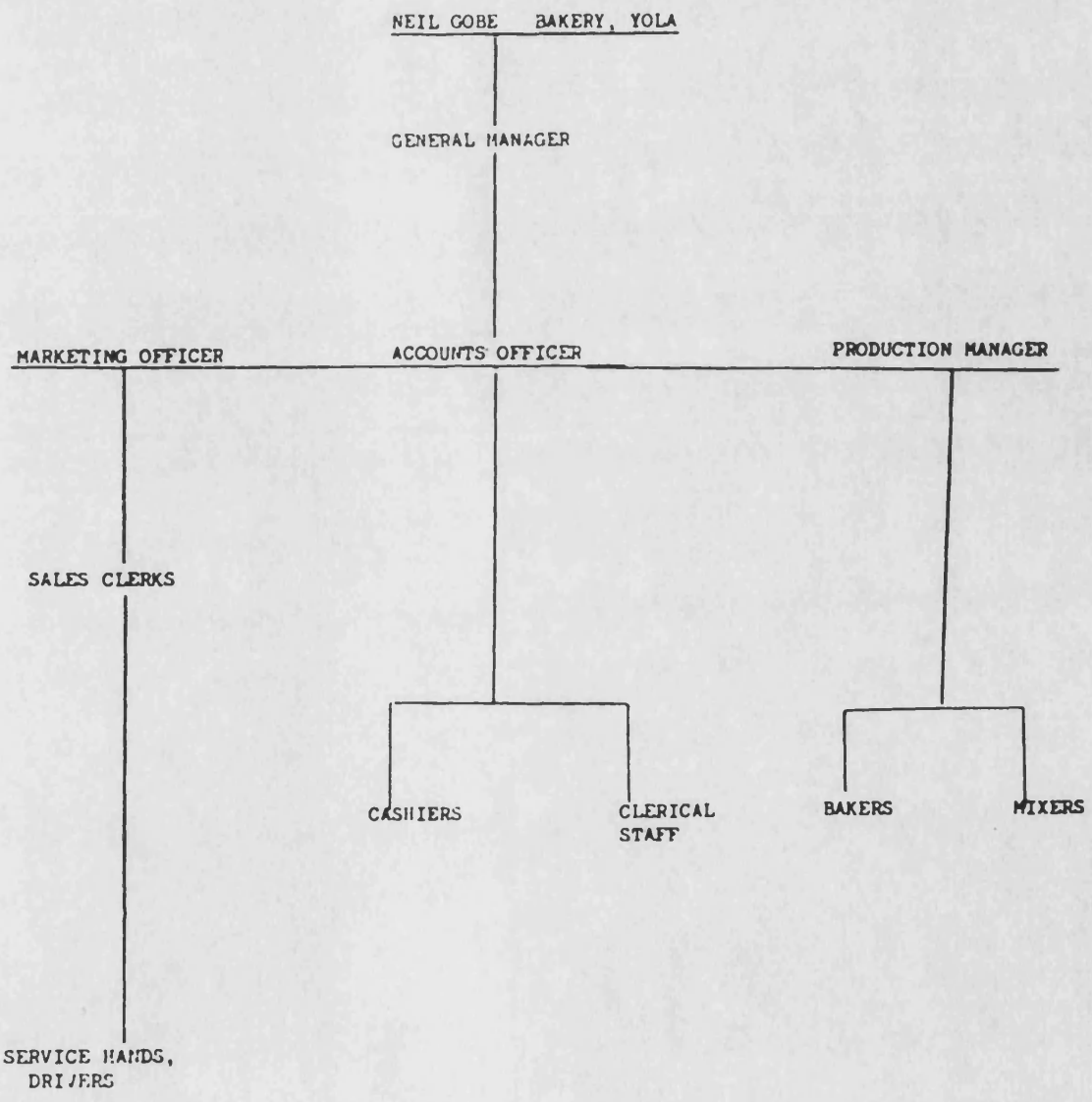
The use of Hausa, because it is the local lingua franca, facilitated the involvement of the labour force in organizational matters. A majority of the workers in this company were Hausa who belonged to the Islamic religion. The somewhat high frequency of ceremonies in this belief system tended to facilitate the exchanges of gifts and visitations among workers in this company. This latter point will be expanded when we discuss the city of Yola. By any fair standard of judgement the company was a success partly because it was the only functioning Bottling Company in the vast north-east region of the Federation and partly because the harmonious relationship among the workers contributed to a serene organizational climate. The company could not meet the demand for its products and was continually under pressure to step-up production in order to satisfy customers' demand for the Africola brand of soft drink which has gained immense popularity among the indigenous people. I shall now provide some background information on Neil Gobe Bakery.

NEIL GOBE BAKERY

Neil Gobe Bakery was established in 1981. Although it is one of the several bakeries in Yola metropolis, it is very popular because it is one of the few mechanized bakeries in town. Unlike all the other private organizations, the workforce in Neil Gobe Bakery is relatively small. The staff strength is only 50. This figure includes family members who, once in a while, helped in the organization. It is a sole proprietorship. The owner, because of old

age and other business interests, hardly came to personally supervise activities in the bakery. As a result,his grown-up children and other members of the extended family helped with the administration of the organization. For example, if, for any reason, the manager of the bakery was out of town, the first son of the director usually came over to look after the organization until the substantive manager returned. As Table 5 shows, the General Manager was the chief executive of the organization. Although the proprietor seldom came to the organization, the General Manager regularly reported to him. Below the General manager were three sections each of which was headed by an officer, except the production section, which was headed by a manager. Under these category of officers were the clerical staff and service hands including drivers. Partly because of the smallness of this organization,there was no section that was specifically designated to handle administrative matters. Administrative matters were solely handled by the General Manager. Outside of the organizational chart were some workers who were equally important to the survival of the organization. These were the security men,'megadi'as they were locally called (which, when translated,literally meant guard and/or night watchman).These people were four in number, working in shifts. Usually there were two guards in the day and two night watchmen. The period of work was reversed on a weekly basis,making those who worked in the day one week revert to night the following. The smallness of the organization, coupled with the fact that there were few organizational hierarchies, facilitated communication between the General Manager and the entire work force.

TABLE 5


NEIL GOBE BAKERY, YOLA
GENERAL MANAGER
MARKETING OFFICER
ACCOUNTS OFFICER
PRODUCTION MANAGER
SALES CLERKS
CASHIERS
CLERICAL STAFF
BAKERS
MIXERS
SERVICE HANDS, DRIVERS

The office of the General Manager was always open to everyone who had a complaint of a personal type. He attentively listened to the workers complaints and helped where help was affordable. One striking feature of this organization was the freedom it gave workers to perform religious rites in the workplace. This was the only organization in our sample in which religious doctrines were vital to the morale of the labour force. All the workers in this organization were Muslims. The freedom to observe routine religious rites was taken for granted. The Islamic religion recommends that devout Muslims must pray five times a day facing the East. In this organization, during the time for prayers, work temporarily ground to a halt. Workers lined up on an improvised praying ground and, with kettles of water in their hands, each performed the ablution that was a required preamble to the actual prayers.During other prayer times, the workers, in unison, were out again for the praying routine until the daily sequence was completed. On Fridays work was halted for hours to enable the workers to go for 'Jumat prayers'in the mosque (about half a mile away). After the mosque most workers did not return to work. The weekend had begun in earnest. Apart from the warm relationships that existed among the various groups in this organization, there was also a strong underlying religious bond among these people. Because of these religious bond, these people perceived and treated each other as brothers. This organizational behavioural practice was in line with one of the canons of islamic religion. Islamic religion is a way of life and giving alms to the poor is an apparent index of devoutness in this belief system. The language of communication was Hausa and this facilitated

participation in organizational activities. I shall now examine the General Mechanic Workshop.

THE GENERAL MECHANIC WORKSHOP

Among the organizations that I investigated, the General Mechanic Workshop is unique in the sense that it existed in a coalitional context i.e, there was no central authority over the mini workshops that comprised the General Mechanic Workshop (see Marret,1971). Every mini workshop was independent of the other yet dependent on the others for the performance of its particular trade. The point should also be made that these mini workshops were not family organizations. The General Workshop was made up of tradesmen from a heterogeneity of ethnic groupings. Rather than being the initial objective, co-operation was rather a by product of the physical proximity of these mini workshops.

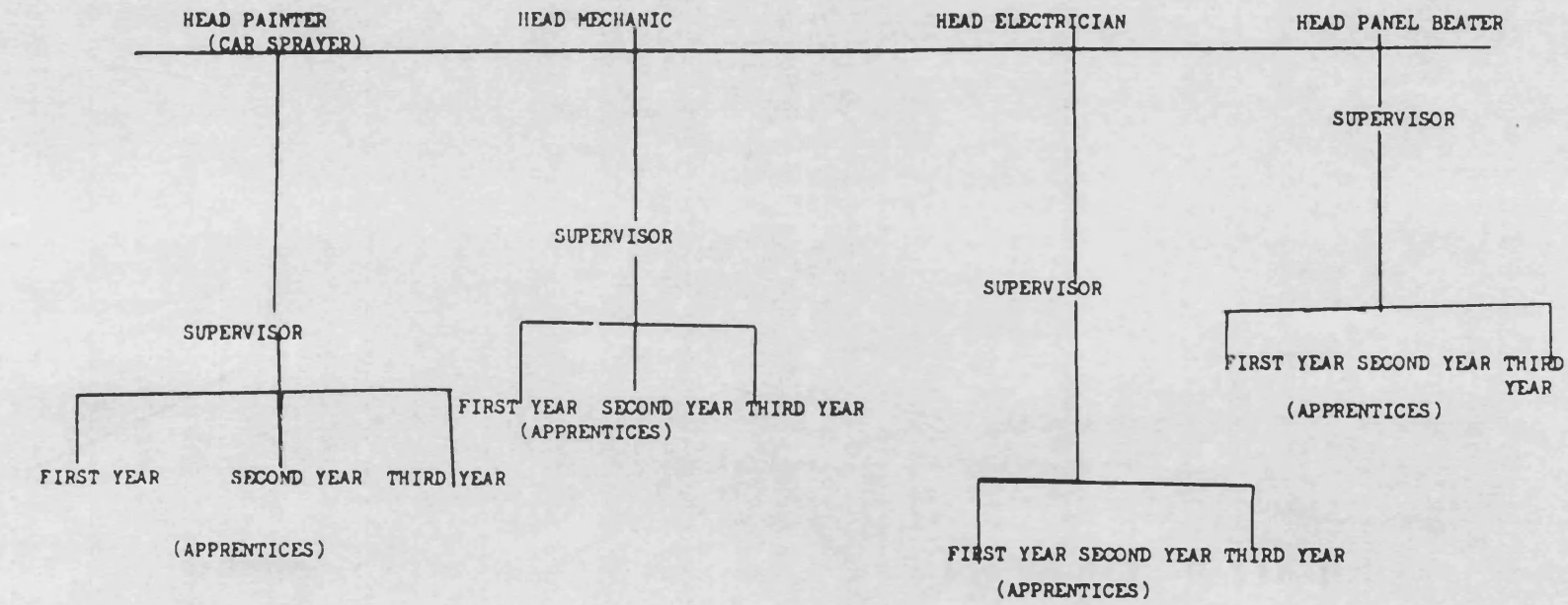
The General Mechanic Workshop is a conglomeration of several small scale mechanic workshops. A small scale mechanic workshop was usually made up of the owner (or owners if it is a partnership) his/their supervisor(s) and apprentices. Thus, a small scale mechanic workshop may consist of 20 or more workers. The coinage ' General Mechanic Workshop' came into being in 1983. This coinage was the handiwork of a few mechanics/technicians who, while remaining independent, wanted to conglomerate under a common trade name (it is not and should not be confused with a trade union) so as to create a closer, cordial and harmonious relationship among all

tradespeople in the Yola metropolis. Membership of the General Mechanic Workshop is open to all tradespeople who are resident in Yola and are prepared to physically locate in the premises of the General Workshop.

Although rules governed the activities of workers in these mini workshops and the larger general workshop, these rules were neither formalized nor rigid. These rules changed according to the dictates of specific situations. Extra-organizational interaction among these people was very high and usually cut across ethnic boundaries. Sundays were set aside for visitations and other cultural activities which tended to revolve around the households of all tradesmen. The numerical strength of the workers in the General Workshop was about 250. As new tradesmen moved into town, the number swelled. Conversely, the number diminished as apprentice mechanics graduated from the workshop. As table 6 shows, each small scale workshop was headed by a head mechanic, head painter, head electrician or the head of any other trade as the case may be. The head of a small scale workshop was usually the owner of the business. Below the head of the business was the supervisor who was at one time an apprentice under the head. The position of the supervisor was transitory because, once the headman gave the supervisor the' traditional farewell tools', the supervisor either moved to another town to set up on his own or looked for a separate place within the workshop to set up his business independently.

TABLE 6

THE GENERAL MECHANIC WORKSHOP, YOLA



Note. Three years is the duration it takes an apprentice to qualify in any trade in the Mechanic Workshop

Thus, the supervisor was still in a period of tutelage in the framework of the organization. Despite the temporary status of the supervisor, he was fully committed to the work in the workshop. He had to be, because the continuity of the organization to a large extent depended on his dedication to the job. The supervisor monitored the progress of the apprentices very closely and, because he had been adjudged competent in the trade, he virtually did all the repair work that came to his master (boss). Within a small scale workshop there could be between nine and twenty workers. A client who arrived to repair his car or truck usually haggled the price with the head mechanic. Once a price was agreed upon,the head mechanic referred the client to his supervisor who carried out the repairs. It should be noted that when the supervisor carried out the actual repairs, the head mechanic usually dropped-by a few times to issue instructions that would ensure appropriate workmanship. Apart from such ocassional instructions, the head mechanic wholly delegated the responsibility for repairing cars to the supervisor. The head mechanic did not necessarily pay the supervisor apart from ocassional tips and the traditional 'farewell tools' which enabled the supervisor to establish a business on his own. Members both within and between workshops knew where each other lived. The head mechanic knew where all his apprentices lived and even knew their parents or guardians (as the case may be). At intervals, the headman visited the parents or guardians of each apprentice to give a progress report on how their charges were doing in the workplace. When the headman gave a party, every member of his and other workshops were invited. An intense co-operative spirit existed among

the workers in these workshops.Every workshop received or gave help to the other. Sometimes, a screwdriver was borrowed by workshop A. At another time,workshop A lent a spanner to workshop C. When a particular workshop was experiencing difficulties in fixing a complicated engine (e.g.,a Peugeot 305) all the experienced hands in the General workshop offered help. This co-operative spirit was a prominent feature of the organization of work in the entire workshop. I shall now provide a brief background information on the city of Yola.

THE CITY OF YOLA

Yola is the capital of Gongola the second largest state in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The city has an estimated population of 200,000 and lies in the savannah region of northern Nigeria.The city is a creation of the Fulani jihadists who, in their drive to convert more 'infidels' into the islamic faith, overan it in the eighteenth century. It is an area of long vistas broken by solitary trees and shrubs, indigenous architectural excellence (which consists of round mud houses with conically-shaped thatched-roofs), jutting rock formations, bright and continually hot weather that has earned for Gongola the appellation of the' Sunshine State', herds of brahmin cattle,camels,horses,goats and sheep. English is the official language in the country but most of the residents in Yola speak Hausa, Fulfude/Fulantachi, both of which belong to the 'Fulani'linguistic variety. In Gongola State,"Arabic is widely known to a slight degree by Muslims more by rote than by understanding

(see Barbour, 1971)."There is considerable ethnic plurality in the Yola metropolis, comprising the Kilba,Bachaman, Yungur, Bata peoples and several lesser tribes. Although,Yola is essentially an Islamic city,other religions (e.g.,Christianity, Traditional religions, etc.) are wholeheartedly tolerated. The head of the city(the emir) is known as the Lamido of Adamawa. The title reveals the extensiveness of his authority. Adamawa is a province made up of diverse clans (see Barbour, 1971). The Emir is a man of immense wealth and popularity around whom the activities of the city revolved. During the annual horse-racing festival, lesser chiefs from the neighbouring villages pay tribute,mainly bringing with them, agricultural produce, and livestock (e.g.,horses). This festival like all other festivals in this city is blended with the religion of the people. Islam, it is said, is not just a documented set of beliefs but a total way of life. As a result, the Islamic religion permeates all aspects of their life.On Fridays,before the jumat prayers, all the destitutes in the city (and there are very many of them) throng the compounds of the more affluent Muslims. These more affluent Muslims have made the holy trip to Mecca and are, therefore, generally known as Alhajis. These destitutes (the blind ,the crippled,the deaf,etc.) with bowls in their hands (for money or food) as a matter of weekly routine,converged at the gates of to the houses of these Alhajis. As each Alhaji steps out of his house to the gate,he usually performs his first religious duty before the actual prayers began. In these situations,an Alhaji could spend the equivalent of £300 (three hundred pounds) including food that is generally doled out. This weekly ritual, it is said, is

a fulfilment of one of the five pillars of islam. This particular pillar exhorts all devout muslims to give alms to the poor or needy. This religious necessity makes the urge to care for the economically disadvantaged members of society especially pervasive amongst the people of this city. An unintended by product of these acts of religious generosity is the ubiquity of beggars in this city. Like most northern cities where the Islamic religion is widely embraced, the Islamic emphasis on giving alms to the poor encourages begging among persons who could otherwise be gainfully employed. A young man bubbling with energy although with a blind eye stands by the roadside with an outstretched bowl chanting songs which implore passers-by to drop their widows's mite in the bowl.At the end of the day the beggar smiles home with a handsome amount of money. The next day he repeats the same ritual that has now become his sole means of livelihood. Even in this profession economic factors of demand and supply also govern the beggar's itinerary.During festive periods (which are generally regarded as seasons of goodwill and generosity), these beggars become unusually itinerant. During these periods beggars move with remarkable speeds from one end of the town to the other apparently to gather as much money as possible. As soon as the festivals are over,they revert to their typical sedentary method of begging.

The ubiquity of beggars in the city of Yola is now generally regarded as a serious social menace. The recognition of the seriousness of this problem has prompted the governor of the state to promulgate an edict which, in principle, specifically banned

beggars from the streets. Although fewer beggars are now in the streets, begging in various forms still goes on surreptitiously. The important point to note about the city of Yola is that the people are predominantly muslims. The city is cosmopolitan in the sense that it consists of a heterogeneity of ethnic groups. The Islamic religion which exhorts Muslims to give alms to the needy, tends to facilitate the generosity of affluent Muslims towards their economically disadvantaged brothers. Some people have tried and others are still trying to make capital out of this aspect of religious generosity by resorting to begging as a full time job. But the government on its part is determined to stamp-out professional begging. In this regard, an edict which specifically banned begging was promulgated. It should also be noted that the high degree of generosity among these people is also reflected in the workplace. Such generosity in the workplace may involve rendering collective help to colleagues who may be in hardship of whatever form, exchanges of gifts during ceremonies such as childbirth, naming, marriage,etc. During some specific Muslim festivals (e.g.,Ileya),in compliance with the tenets of the Islamic religion, rams are slaughtered and shared among well wishers and visits are exchanged. It is a against this background of generosity which has a firm root in the Islamic religion, that workers in this city should be viewed.

One of the reasons why I decided to study organizations in the Yola metropolis is to assess how the high degree of generosity (generally depicted by the Islamic obligation to support one another) that

exists among these people would influence work attitudes in the organizations that are located in this city. My assumption is that this high degree of generosity is likely to enhance workers' co-operative tendencies, raise morale, influence attitudes in a positive direction and ultimately increase organizational productivity. This partly influenced my decision to investigate organizations that are located in the city of Yola.

CHAPTER TEN

METHODOLOGY

This chapter examines the methodology and the sample design adopted for this study. It also discusses the relationship between theoretical propositions/hypotheses and the actual questions asked in the questionnaire schedule.

The sample for this study is 160. This figure is made up of between 25-30 respondents in each of the organizations studied. Altogether 80 private employees and 80 public employees were interviewed. Apart from the 160 respondents who were interviewed for the purpose of statistical analysis, there were informal interviews with top officials in virtually all the organizations investigated, although these persons were not necessarily part of the sample. For example, I personally had a detailed interview with the Administrative Manager of Delta Steel Company Aladja, although he was not part of the sample for this study. These informal interviews were particularly helpful since they enabled me to develop a deeper insight into the activities of the various organizations.

Information that would not otherwise have been provided under a formal interview situation was readily divulged under the uninhibited atmosphere of the informal interview. Apart from the questions in the questionnaire schedule, each respondent was asked to give a brief work history of himself as well as how he would run

the organization if he were put in charge the next day. Thus, the interview for the 160 respondents was in-depth considering the fact that it combined qualitative measures with qualitative observations. I shall now examine the sample design adopted for this study.

For the first comparison group (those who work in public organizations) I drew a random sample of workers from the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Yola, the Federal University of Technology, Yola and the Delta Steel Company, Aladja-Warri. These random samples were drawn from the register of workers in each organization. To avoid a bias in favour of any particular ethnic group, there was an initial stratification of samples drawn from each organization to ensure equal representation of all ethnic groups. Depending on the total number of persons in the organization, I selected for inclusion in the sample every tenth or fifteenth or twentieth name in each register. The second comparison group, those working in private organizations,was also drawn from a register of private workers, usually, sumbitted by these organizations to the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Exactly the same method was used for selecting the sample of private workers. For the comparison group in the public sector, I obtained a random sample of 30 workers from the Delta steel company, Aladja-Warri. To ensure that this sample was unbiased, I interviewed senior as well as junior workers. Senior workers mean those in the management or administrative cadre of the organization. These are officers or professional staff usually at the top of the

organizational hierarchy. Junior workers, generally, are those people at the lower levels of organizational hierarchy.These are usually the menial workers, the clerical staff, unskilled labour, drivers, etc. In manufacturing organizations,such as the Delta Steel Company, these lower category of workers are the people who do the actual production work.

In the Delta Steel Company, I inteviewed 15 senior workers and 15 junior workers. I drew a random sample of 25 workers from the Federal University of Technology, Yola made up of 10 senior and 15 junior workers. I also obtained a random sample of 25 workers from the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Yola. The sample from the Ministry was also made up of 10 senior and 15 junior workers. For the second comparison group of those working in private organizations, I obtained a random sample of 30 workers from the General Mechanic Workshop. This was made up of 7 senior workers and 23 junior workers. The number of senior workers in this subsample is relatively small because those who fall into my definitional specification of 'senior'(ie.the headmen) were very few in this workshop.A random sample of 25 workers, made up of 10 senior and 15 junior workers, was drawn from the Faro Bottling Company,Yola, and finally, a random sample of 25 workers made up of 10 senior and 15 junior workers was obtained from Neil Gobe Bakery, Yola. Of equal concern to me,particularly for the purpose of generalization, was the representativeness of the sample.Ethnicity was a major index of measuring the representativeness of a sample in this context. A worker's ethnic affiliation, to a large extent, was a

pointer to his religious preference. If a worker belonged to the Hausa ethnic category,there was every likelihood (about .95 probability) that he would be a Muslim by religion. On the other hand,if a worker belonged to the Ibo ethnic group, there was equally every likelihhod (certainly .98 probability) that he would be Christian. There were some organizations with few senior workers. Correspondingly, female workers are underrepresented in the sample for this study because the physically exerting nature of the work in most of the organizations that I investigated made them (these organizations) less attractive to working women. Thus, I cannot claim to have an adequate representation of both sexes in the sample for this study. Similarly, the point should be reiterated that size of organization is not considered an important variable in the determination of work attitudes.

A pilot questionnaire was administered to a cross section of a Tomato factory workers and bankers in the Yola metropolis.Both categories of workers represented the private and public sectors respectively. The data from the pilot questionnaire contained useful comments which helped to draw up the final questionnaire schedule. The final questionnaire schedule contained series of attitudinal items dealing with various aspects of the job.A five point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree)was used, and respondents were required to select one of the five options. With the help of some senior academic staff of the Federal University of Technology, Yola, I trained some interviewers who understood the local language to personally

administer the questions.

This was necessary because some of these workers could not speak or read the English language. Many of the workers included in our sample were contacted through the management of their organizations. These workers were mostly interviewed in the workplace during break periods(work could not be interupted because of this inteview). The strategy of interviewing these workers in the workplace guarded against any possible inteference by members of their families (as would otherwise have been the case if they were interviewed in their various homes). The interview method was most appropriate for this study for the following reasons:some of the workers interviewed were not literate and, therefore, could only respond verbally to the research questions. These questions were read to them in the local language and their responses were appropriately ticked on the questionnaire schedule. Mailed questionnaires were not used in this study because the Nigerian postal system is notoriously inefficient, and as a result one cannot, with absolute certainty, guarantee that a mailed questionnaire would actually reach the respondent to whom it was intended. Some of the private workers were not initially willing to provide any information to our team of interviewers. As one of them put it, "these people could be tax officials masquerading as researchers. "It took repeated calls to some of these organizations before any effective and useful rapport was established. One other point worth mentioning is the extent to which several senior workers were guilty of 'interviewee apprehension,'a situation in

workers tried to probe interviewers' views about certain questions before answering. Even after answering a particular question, there was a recurrent tendency among these workers to ask whether the interviewer felt that the answer they gave was right. This was the pattern of responses of several of the senior workers. By contrast, most of the junior workers were straight forward in the answers they gave. Nonetheless, there was a general agreement among these workers that work attitudes in Nigeria were generally negative, and that this was more so in public than private organizations. Some of the reasons given informally for the difference in work attitudes in both sectors included, over centralization of public organizational structure, the inherent rigidity of public organizational structure which tended to discourage personal initiative, etc. I shall now examine the relationship between theoretical propositions/ hypotheses and the questions asked.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS 1:Workers in the private sector are more likely to express positive attitudes in the ability of their organization to meet their personal/familial needs, is deduced from needs' theory. As the reader may recall from one of the core arguments I advanced earlier, needs'theory, particularly the Maslovian version, is narrow in scope because the built-in individualism delimits its application in a cultural milieu different from the one on which its assumptions were based. Such a theory based on a premise

on an individualistic definition of needs has no anchorage in the particular Nigerian situation. The lack of a cultural anchorage is why an individualistic definition of workers' needs, would surely falter in the Nigerian context where workers' needs carry a collective (in the sense of being collectively defined) connotation. This collectivist definition of needs has prompted me to peculiarly style this hypothesis as personal/family needs (which is collective) rather than just personal needs (which is individualistic). The question designed to test this hypothesis is question 19 on the questionnnaire schedule, which states :My job has not satisfied my personal/familial needs.This question is measured on a five point Likert scale. First, I shall obtain a cross tabulation of workers place of employment (private or public) by percentage scores on the extent to which their organizations satisfied their personal/familial needs. Subsequently, I shall obtain the percentage distribution of respondents'scores on the extent to which these needs were satisfied, by the names of employing organization. For the actual test of the hypothesis, I intend to employ a battery of statistical tests, viz.,the t test of comparison between two groups, the oneway orthogonal test of comparison between groups and oneway analysis of variance to assess the variability within and between groups using the F probability function as a measure of statistical significance. These statistical tests will be sufficient for us to confidently say that a substantial difference exists between both comparison groups.

HYPOTHESIS 2: Public workers are more likely to express attitudes that border on powerlessness than private workers.This hypothesis is deduced from the discussion of alienation, where it was emphasized that, although Seeman (1959) categorized powerlessness as an index of alienation, powerlessness, as it is used in this study, is basically the consequence of the rigid structural features of public organizations which precludes the worker from actually belonging to and taking his rightful place in the organizational scheme of things. The worker is powerless because he is aware of the fact that he is not an integral part of the organization. This awareness reaches a point where he psychologically withdraws from work activities because he is unable to alter the organizational features which produce this feeling of powerlessness. Powerlessnes, like justice, is an abstract concept, which makes it imperative for a researcher to exercise caution while attempting to frame questions that are valid enough to actually measure what is intended. In this regard, I decided to formulate three seperate questions to test this hypothesis. The three questions are: numbers 22,'My job does not give me enough freedom to use my initiative in doing things':28. 'Everyworker is encouraged to take part in the decision making process in this organization' and 30.'There are many opportunities for personal achievement in this organization.' Thus, I reasoned that, if workers had relatively unrestrained freedom in doing things in the workplace,if aspects of their orientations (e.g., the use of personal initiative) were incorporated in the objective structure of the organization and, therefore, if workers had a sense of

belonging in organizational activities, it was unlikely that such workers would complain of powerlessness. In the same vein, if workers participated, in whatever form, in organizational decision making, it was unlikely that such workers would feel powerless within the organization. Participation in organizational decision-making, in however piecemeal a manner, is one appparent way of inducing a feeling of belongingness in workers. Given their backgrounds and socialization, these workers inwardly yearn to be part of the authority structure within the organization. They naturally want to be involved in the events of significance in the organization. Once this sense of belongingness is induced in workers they are unlikely to feel powerless in the objective circumstances of the organization. Finally, if there are ample opportunities in the organization where workers can achieve their optimum, it also unlikely that they would feel powerless in the organization. By contrast, it is only when opportunities for personal achievement are curtailed in the workplace that workers are more likely to express feelings of powerlessness. Thus, when there are no impediments to workers mobility within the firm, they are able to achieve their optimum and in so doing identify with the objective(s) of the firm. Identification with the objectives of the organization will in turn induce a sense of belonging in workers and, therefore,arouse positive work attitudes. Thus, these three measures of powerlessness, viz., freedom to use personal initiative,participation in decision-making and the extent to which opportunities abound in the organization, are valid measures of the concept of powerlessness. Like the first and subsequent

hypotheses,the statistical tests are the same. I shall obtain cross-tabulations of percentage scores on each of the measures by place of employment (private/public) .I shall also use the t test statistics,one-way orthogonal contrast and the analysis of variance.

HYPOTHESIS 3:Public workers are more likely to be bored with their jobs than private workers. This hypothesis is an induction from preliminary field work that I conducted in Nigeria. In this preliminary field work most of the public functiomnaries I interviewed were of the view that public organizational characteristics produced a circumstance of boredom. A newly appointed university graduate in one of the ministries, for example, noted that "Nothing works in this place. There are double standards in employment and promotions."The lack of a uniform yardstick for promotions,etc.,in the Nigerian public service has been highlighted by Akpan(1982:189) who, for example, noted that:

> Well-meaning citizens of this country (Nigeria) were disturbed by the initial false steps of some state Governors who sentimentally 'promoted' civil servants to grades far beyond their worth either by qualification or performance of their official duties.Our investigation reveals that those 'promotions' were made for reasons not directly connected with their official employment and without consultation or agreement with either the appropriate Heads of Departments or the civil service commissions concerned.

The spur in this sector is, therefore, not the intrinsic challenge of the job but the pay, which is more or less, doled out without ascertaining workers' performances. Public employees generally agree that the characteristics of public organizations induce a feeling of boredom in these workers. It is routine and unchallenging. Adebayo (1981:32), for example,has classified the unserious public servant as a potential 'passenger' or 'dead wood' because he is the :

> Restless ,irresponsible and playful type.he can hardly sit at his desk for an hour at a time to concentrate on any subject. He must find someone to chat up.He is constantly found along the corridors chatting to someone or seeing some visitor off. He goes from room to room calling on his colleagues. To him,nothing is urgent that cannot wait. He is secretary of a number of social societies in town and most of his time in the office is taken up with planning and preparing for the various social engagements. In the evenings he is at his favourite beer parlour in the company of his companions.

An anonymous young man in the public service, for example, admitted that a government job was a stepping stone to more challenging and lucrative jobs in the private sector. Another indication of unseriousness among public workers is the extent to which outside visitors (including relatives and friends) are entertained in the workplace. During the period of these visits, a worker's loyalty

becomes divided between the friend or relative he is entertaining and the work he is paid to do. Other workers, who find it much more expedient to use official telephones, glue themselves to these telephones and (sometimes very loudly,much to the chagrin of other workers) engage in amorous discussions with girl friends. I argue that the recourse to these personal activities within the framework of the organization are ways of coping with the boredom characteristic of public work. The question designed to measure boredom is question number 21.'My job is boring.'The concept had the same meaning to every respondent that was interviewed. It was reasoned that it is the objective circumstances of the organization that would make a worker to assess that his job is boring or not. The routineness of public organizations induces a feeling of boredom. Boredom as it is used in this study is a product of the organizational circumstance. Organizational characteristics will determine the extent of boredom experienced by any particular worker and this will influence his attitude to the job. The same statistics would be employed to test this hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS 4:Private workers will be more satisfied with their jobs than public workers. This hypothesis is deduced from the literature on job satisfaction that was elaborately discussed in the main body of the thesis. The logic on which this hypothesis is premised is that, if workers find their jobs to be challenging, they are more likely to be satisfied with them. According to Herzberg,there are intrinsic job satisfiers and extrinsic job satisfiers in every organizational situation. The intrinsic factors within

the organization have to do with the challenges associated with the job. It is the extent to which the job is challenging that would determine whether the worker would be satisfied or not.

Thus, intrinsic factors are the main determinants of job satisfaction. Extrinsic factors (or hygiene factors as they are sometimes called) deal exclusively with the environmental conditions of the organization. If the sanitary conditions of the organization are excellent, they may not necessarily produce worker satisfaction,but a squalid organizational environment does, according to Herzberg(1964),produce worker dissatisfaction. Work satisfaction, therefore, results largely from work related factors.

This hypothesis is tested by four separate questions, viz., Question number 12.'Do you see your job as having fulfilled the expectations you had about such jobs prior to your employment?' This question was based on the assumption that, if workers expectations about urban employment were fulfilled, they were likely to be satisfied. My argument is that this is the case. It is in this respect that this question (No.12) was included in the questionnaire schedule as a valid measure of job satisfaction.

The second question which was designed to measure job satisfaction is question number 31, which states:'This organization does things

to enhance the welfare of workers.' The rationale for including this question was that, if workers' welfare was adequately met then, there would be little or no reason for them to say that they are not satisfied with the job. But, the question arises as to what actually constitutes workers' welfare. In public organizations workers' welfare is almost always reducible to pecuniary considerations. A typical welfare package in public organization may include housing allowances, car loans, etc. These monetary inducements do not necessarily motivate workers to be more commited to their jobs. The housing allowance of between 15 and 25 percent of gross salary, which is the standard rate for a graduate civil servant, is grossly insufficient to rent a modest accommodation in any Nigerian city. The car loan of 4,800 naira given out to a fresh graduate in the civil service is just about a quarter of the price of the cheapest car at the moment. The 'Volkswagen Beetle' traditionally dubbed 'the car of the people'because of its hitherto cheap cost (at a current price of 20,000 naira) is now out of reach of even the highest paid civil servant in the country. Apart from the fact that public monetary inducements do not satisfy even individual workers' material welfare, the obligations that these workers have to members of their extended family are overwhelmingly neglected in the public sector. This neglect, it is argued, contributes to negative attitudes in this sector. By contrast, private organizations attempt to meet some of these generalized obligations that workers owe members of their extended families. Apart from contributing towards the accomplishment of some communal projects, private companies have incentive schemes

aims to reach people outside of the organization) reward scheme is completely at variance with what is implied in Maslow's needs' hierarchy. According to Maslow, once an individual has satisfied his physiological needs, there is a natural tendency for the individual to move on to the next rung of the hierarchy to satisfy his safety needs and, eventually to satisfy his self-actualization needs, which is the last in a five-rung needs hierarchy. I disagree with this view because of its sociological inadequacy (specifically its trans-cultural limitations). Needs are not customized or personalized in the Nigerian social context. Such incentive schemes completely disregard the peculiar collective connotation of workers' welfare in the Nigerian social context. Thus, by including this question in the questionnaire schedule, I reasoned that if a particular organization, to a considerable extent, met the elaborated needs of its workers, there was every likelihood that the workers would be satisfied with their jobs. If workers expectations about urban employment were fulfilled and their welfare adequately catered for by organizational incentive schemes,they would predictably be satisfied with their jobs. These questions actually tapped the expectations that these workers had about urban jobs. Most of these expectations were linked-up with the satisfaction of rural obligations and majority of the respondents even recounted these obligations and how the incentive scheme operative in their particular organization hindered or facilitated the satisfaction of these obligations.

Question 14 follows from the two previous questions and reads

thus:'How would you describe your feelings toward your work?' A worker's response to this question would largely depend on his answer to the two previous questions. If, when the worker secured an urban employment,his expectations about the job were fulfilled, and there were incentive schemes,broad-based enough to meet his generalized needs and, therefore, his obligations, the worker would most likely have favourable feelings about the work. On the other hand, if the objective organizational situation was sharply discrepant from his initial expectations, and if there were no meaningful welfare programme for employees, an individual worker would likely express unfavourable feelings about the work. This assumption is based on the fact that the feeling a worker holds about a job is largely reflective of the extent to which that organization is able to cater to the workers' needs and welfare. Question 15 substantively measures the level of satisfaction of the respondents. Question 15 reads thus:'How much of the time do you feel satisfied with this job. Would you say(a) all the time (b) a good deal of the time (c) half the time (d)occasionally (e) practically never?'This question gives the respondent a range of options from which to choose. A worker may discover that, although his expectations are not presently being fulfilled, the company is now making serious efforts to adapt to the elaborate needs of workers. This hypothetical worker would be able to choose from this range of options. In this manner, the difficulty which would have confronted him if there were only two options (Yes or No) is avoided. It is crucial to emphasize that job satisfaction is the result of the 'degree of fit'between workers' orientation and the

objective conditions of the workplace. The same statistical package was used for these measures of job satisfaction.

HYPOTHESIS 5:Private workers would more likely blame themselves rather than their organization for any shortcoming in their level of personal achievement within the organization. This hypothesis was derived from attribution theory which basically states that people are more likely to attribute the causes of failures to others rather than themselves. The general agreement by Nigerians that the country's bureaucratic structure is rigid, that corruption, nepotism and tribalism are all-pervasive in this sector, together with the general belief that nothing works in public organizations, are sufficient reasons for public workers to attribute their own inadequacies to the inherent deficiencies of public organizational structures. On the other hand, private employees, who work in an organizational environment in which management is responsive to the needs of workers, are likely to be more objective in apportioning blame for problems encountered in the organization. The question designed to measure the level of blame is question number 29 which reads thus:"Workers should blame themselves rather than the organization for any shortcomings in their level of personal achievement." Rarely do Nigerian public workers blame themselves for any problems encountered in the workplace. There are sufficient loopholes in these organizations for workers to shirk their responsibilities. An illustrative example of public officers who blame junior workers for their personal inadequacy is given by Adebayo(1981:31)who noted that:

> Finding no ready clue to the problem in hand ,some officers resort to trivial fault-finding as an excuse for not getting on with the job. The clerk in the registry has placed the correspondence for action in a temporary file. This is a heaven-sent opportunity for the budding 'deadwood'officer. He pounces on this incident and issues a long query to the clerk, asking for explanation as to why the the corres- pondence was not in the proper file. Two days later, the clerk replies to explain the circumstances. The officer rejects the explanations and isues a further query. And so it goes on that the main issue is pushed asside and three weeks of time and several pages of space are devoted to sterile correspondence between the clerk and the officer.

Unlike the public sector, there is little room for scapegoating in the private sector because there is clear-cut delineation of duties and responsibilities. The same statistical package used for the other hypotheses was also used for this hypothesis. I shall now examine the actual data recorded in this study.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the findings of the research investigation. It is pertinent at this juncture to reiterate the battery of statistical tests used in this study. First, the results are generally presented in a descriptive statistical form, namely, the percentage distribution of respondents' scores on the attitudinal items on which they were compared by place of employment (private or public). This percentage distribution does not go beyond indicating the presence or lack of a discernible pattern of response between private and public workers. Second, an inferential statistic, namely, the t test, is employed to substantively test the hypotheses that are advanced in this study. The t test is chosen on the assumptions that: (1)the variable being studied(work attitude) is measured on an interval scale;(2)random samples of n_1 and n_2 measurements are selected from populations 1 and 2, respectively, and the sampling distribution of $\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2$is approximately normal and (3) that both samples are more than 30 in order to replace the unknown population variances σ_1^2 and σ_2^2 by S_1^2 and S_2^2, respectively (see Ott,Medenhall and Larson,1978;Anderson and Sclove,1974).

For the purpose of the t test the Likert five-point scale, viz.,(a) strongly agree, (b) agree, (c) undecided (d) disagree and (e) strongly disagree, was collapsed into two broad divisions, i.e., positive respondents, which was made up of workers who agreed or

strongly agreed and negative respondents, which was made up of workers who disagreed or strongly disagreed. This division converted the Likert scale into an interval scale measurement, and as a result it became amenable to t test statistics. Ott, Medenhall and Larson (1978:20)have indicated that:

> Statistical techniques are flexible.Ratio data can be employed as interval data; statistical techniques appropriate for measurement on the interval scale can also be used for variables measured on a ratio scale. Similarly, statistical techniques developed for ordinal data can be used for interval or ratio data. Techniques for nominal data can be employed for any of the other three kinds of data.

This initial note of clarification is crucial because the onus of responsibility for the choice of any particular measurement lies with the researcher. As Anderson and Sclove (1974:32) rightly indicated:

> When a sociologist wishes to evaluate a conceptual variable such as strength of opinion or degree of belief, etc.,he may devise a test or questionnaire to measure the variable indirectly, the scores on the test or questionnaire supposedly being related to the variable of interest. This non observable variable may be defined as an ordinal, interval or ratio scale. The investigator must decide on

> what sort of scale the measurement of the observable variable shall be defined so that he knows what kinds of comparison can be made between measurements(my underlining).

It should be noted that three of the four questions which were designed to measure the level of job satisfaction in this study do not fall into the Likert five-point scale. In testing this particular hypothesis (the level of job satisfaction) I was interested in going beyond conventional Likert response categories, which consists mainly of strongly agree, agree, undecided.etc.,to more incisive questions which could elicit responses which were relevant to the theme of this thesis. For example, Table 4 b(i), which is respondents scores on the extent to which the job has fulfilled their prior expectations,has two response categories, i.e.,Yes or No. This response design was chosen for this question because it is categorical, constitutes an interval measurement and is ,therefore, amenable to the t test statistic which is used throughout this study. Table 4 c(i) which is respondents'scores on their present feeling towards their job has four response categories,namely:(a) enthusiastic (b) indifferent (c) dislike and (d) don't know. This response design gives you a better insight into the actual feeling the worker has towards his job. Rather than tell you that the worker agrees or disagrees to a set of questions about his job, this question actually tells you whether the worker is enthusiastic or unenthusiastic about his job. Table 4 d(i), which is respondents' scores on the number of times they are satisfied with

their jobs, has five response categories, namely:(a) all the time (b)a good deal of the time (c) half the time (d) occasionally and (e) never. I chose this particular response design because it tells the reader the actual number of times the worker is satisfied or dissatisfied with his job. This particular response design facilitates comparison between groups. Although non-parametric statistics (e.g.,the chi square) are not employed in this study, it is presumed that such a statistic would produce similar results. This presumption is based on the characteristic sensitivity of the chi square to sample size. In a nutshell, as the sample size of any particular study increases, statistical tests such as the chi square, which are unlikely to be statistically significant in parametric analysis, become highly significant in non-parametric analysis. This characteristic of the chi square is one reason why I presume that the chi square would yield an even more significant probability level for this study.

Third, the oneway orthogonal contrast is employed mainly to show the probability levels of the contrast that exist in work attitudes between private and public workers. In its more advanced form (which is avoided in this study) the test of orthogonal contrast will enable the reader to know whether the change in mean response takes place in linear, quadratic or other ways as attitudes change in a positive or negative direction (see Kleinbaum and Kupper,1978, for a discussion of orthogonal contrast). Thus, the orthogonal contrast as it is used in this study merely validates the statistical significance that has been depicted by the t test. Finally, I

employed the analysis of variance in this study because, consistent with Davies and Goldsmith (1972:121), it is a useful test by which the variations between /within groups on a conceptual item are estimated. I have, therefore, employed this statistic to isolate and estimate the variations associated with work attitudes between private and public workers. This test tells us the exact probability level (and, therefore, the statistical significance or lack of it) of the difference between the six groups on any attitudinal item on which they are compared. One usefulness of the ANOVA (analysis of variance) which is shown by the results obtained is that it was able to tell us that attitudes are more or less homogenous within the groups and quite discrepant between the groups that were compared in this study. I have decided to adopt directional hypotheses (i.e.,the one-tail test) for this study mainly because there is abundant evidence which suggests that public work attitudes are overwhelmingly negative in Nigeria. Since most of the evidence that I have on Nigerian work attitudes is directional (ie.,public workers are negatively disposed to their jobs), I decided to formulate directional (ie.,one-tail test) hypotheses. Before bringing this section to a close it is pertinent to reiterate that the statistical level of significance adopted for this study is the .05 level(i.e.,I want to be 95% sure that the result obtained is not due to chance). The descriptive statistical data is presented in two ways i.e.,row percentages and column percentages. The straight comparison between private and public organizations (usually the first table in all the hypotheses that are tested) is presented in row percentages. This form of presentation does not necessarily

possess any implicit advantages,rather it is a matter of choice. The breakdown of respondents' scores on all the attitudinal items by name of employing organization is presented in column percentages.The column percentage represents the distribution of responses in relation to the total sample(N) and, therefore, enables a researcher to disccuss the pattern of responses in more detail.

HYPOTHESIS 1:Workers in the private sector are more likely to express positive attitudes in the ability of their organization to meet their personal/familial needs.

This hypothesis is generally upheld by the results in Tables 1(a) to 1(e). Table 1(a) is a cross tabulation of workers place of employment (private/public organization) by scores on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1(strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), on whether their organization satisfies their personal/familial needs. Table 1(a) indicates that private workers were more positive about the ability of their organization to meet their personal/familial needs than public workers. While only 10.8% of all private workers strongly agreed that their organization did not meet their personal/family needs,a larger percentage of all public workers (28.7%) strongly agreed that their organization did not meet their personal/family needs. This pattern of response is also reflected in the column of those respondents who simply agreed that their organization did not meet their personal/family needs. This particular column recorded 13.7% for private workers and 31.2%

for public workers. Similarly, a huge percentage of private workers(57.5%)disagreed that their organization did not satisfy their needs, while a comparatively meagre 21.2% of all public workers disagreed likewise.

Table 1(b) is a breakdown of the organization by name and percentage scores on the Likert scale on the ability of organizations to meet workers personal/familial obligations. The first three namely, Neil Gobe Bakery, Faro Bottling Company and the Mechanic Workshop comprise the private organizations, while the last three categories, namely, University, Ministry and Steel comprise the public organizations chosen for this study (It is pertinent to note this categorization for subsequent tables). A striking revelation in Table 1(b) is that 33.3% of those workers who affirmed that their organization could not meet their personal/familial needs were university staff. This is the highest percentage in any single cell in the entire table. This high percentage is presumably reflective of the intellectual ability of university staff (any where in the world) to assess organizational performance. Being a relatively new university with myriad teething problems, it is obvious from the pattern of responses of the staff that they assessed the university administration in terms of how effectively it coped with staff welfare. This pattern of response indicates that the incentive scheme designed by the university administration was grossly inadequate and did not satisfy the needs of the university staff. It should be emphasized that the university in our sample was a relatively new one, being only about

three years old at the time of the interview. This is not to insinuate that older universities were better prepared to meet the personal/familial needs of their staff. Indeed some of the problems that beset the Federal University, which will be mentioned hereafter, did exist in older universities.

Basic necessities like water and electricity supplies were discomfortingly erratic on the university campus during this period. Accommodation was extremely scanty to the extent that a rule was made which made it mandatory that a professor and a lecturer of a lower rank should share living space. In a three bedroom flat the professor usually made use of two rooms while the lecturer had the last room to himself. This circumstance was anything but conducive for serious academic work. Conflicting lifestyles among flat mates were the bane of this system. Thus, there was virtually no university staff at this time who could claim to be comfortable in terms of accommodation. Conditions were quite appalling, and the lack of appropriate accommodation prevented several staff from bringing their families from their villages or former places of work. Those staff who were living in the hotels soon found out that they were living there at their own expense. They had been promised by the vice-chancellor that the university would foot their hotel bills as long as they were yet to be allocated to university houses, but, when the pay slips came at the end of the month, they were suprised at the number of deductions made from their salaries as a result of their continued stay in the hotels.

DATA ANALYSIS

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 1(a)

NTSATNED:JOB DOES NOT SATISFY PERSONAL/FAMILY NEEDS
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 STRONGLY AGREE	2 AGREE	3 UNDECIDED	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.	10.0 (8)	13.7 (11)	6.2 (5)	57.5 (46)	12.5 (10)	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	28.7 (23)	31.2 (25)	7.5 (6)	21.2 (17)	11.2 (9)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(31) 19.4	(36) 22.5	(11) 6.9	(63) 39.4	(19) 11.9	160 100.0

TABLE 1(b)

NTSATNED:JOB DOES NOT SATISFY PERSONAL/FAMILY NEEDS
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL	(3) 9.7	(4) 11.1	(1) 9.1	(14) 22.2	(3) 15.8	(25) 15.6
FARO	(2) 6.5	(3) 8.3	(1) 9.1	(14) 22.2	(5) 26.3	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(3) 9.7	(4) 11.1	(3) 27.3	(18) 28.6	(2) 10.5	(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(7) 22.6	(12) 33.3		(3) 4.8	(3) 15.8	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(8) 25.8	(8) 22.2	(1) 9.1	(5) 7.9	(3) 15.8	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(8) 25.8	(5) 13.9	(5) 45.5	(9) 14.3	(3) 15.8	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(31) 19.4	(36) 22.5	(11) 6.9	(63) 39.4	(19) 11.9	160 100.0

These people protested to the vice-chancellor who, as usual, stood his ground that the deductions must go on. As a result, those affected staff left the hotels, and, because of the impromptu nature of their departure, most of them temporarily squatted with friends or relatives in the Yola metropolis. Those who were allocated to share flats were crammed-in like sardines (e.g.,during that period about seven lecturers shared the 'Abubakar house'). A Canadian professor of biology, just hired from Ottawa to teach in the university, saw the deplorable condition of staff welfare and absconded after barely two days of stay.As disheartening as conditions were, there was little truth or honesty in the administration of the university. Factions, most of which were based on ethnic considerations, soon emerged and the university authorities cleverly played one against the other.Official deceit, for example, surrounded the issue of the car loan. There was a revolving car loan which was supposed to be allocated to all university staff irrespective of salary grade level (every worker above salary grade level 6 was entitled to it). But, the authorities of the university (the vice-chancellor) started disbursing the loan to those who were in their good books. Most staff became so disappointed with the shoddy administration of the university that a particular ethnic group within the university petitioned the governing council about the arbitrariness of the vice-chancellor's policies. The vice-chancellor was summoned by the university governing council but, as usual, exonerated himself. The combination of some or all of these factors may have influenced the pattern of response from the university staff.

On the other hand,although 45.5% of those workers who were undecided as to the ability of their organization to meet their needs were steel workers, these same workers constituted 25.8% of those who strongly agreed that their organization could not meet their personal/familial needs.

Table 1(c) collapsed private organizations (Neil Gobe Bakery, Faro Bottling Company and Mechanic Workshop) into Group 1 and public organizations (University,Ministry and Steel) into Group 2 for the purpose of the t test of comparison. The t test of comparison in Table 1(c) shows a highly significant probability level($p<.0000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. In a nutshell, the t test of comparison between Groups 1 and 2 depicts a statistically significant contrast between private and public employees in the ability of their organizations to meet their personal/familial needs. Table 1(d) shows the contrast coefficient matrix and the t probability function of the orthogonal contrast between both groups. This test is also statistically significant($p<.0000$) for both pooled and separate variance estimates. Table 1 (e), the ANOVA (analysis of variance), shows that there is a statistically significant contrast between all the six groups on the ability of their organizations to meet their personal/familial needs. This is depicted by a statistically significant probability level based on the F5, 154 distribution.

T-TEST TABLE 1 (c)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1.-TAIL PROB.
NTSATNED:JOB DOES NOT SATISFY PERSONAL/FAMILY NEEDS												
GROUP 1	80	3.4875	1.180	0.132	1.40	0.138	4.59	158	0.000	4.59	153.76	0.000
GROUP 2	80	2.5500	1.395	0.156								

TABLE 1(d)

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

NTSATNED:JOB DOES NOT SATISFY PERSONAL/FAMILY NEEDS
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE					SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE			
	VALUE	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	-2.8800	0.6176	-4.663	154	0.000	0.6191	-4.652	144.4	0.000

Based on the result of the t test, the null hypothesis is rejected that workers in the public sector are more likely to express positive attitudes in the ability of their organizations to meet their needs, as the one-tailed probability of the observations recorded occuring where the Null hypothesis is true is less than 0.000. Thus, an alternative hypothesis is put forward, substantiated by the results, that workers in the private sector are more likely to express positive attitudes in the ability of their organization to meet their personal/family needs.

TABLE 1e

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

NTSATNED:JOB DOES NOT SATISFY PERSONAL/FAMILY NEEDS
BY NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	39.8237	7.9647	4.7336	.0005
WITHIN GROUPS	154	259.1200	1.6826		
TOTAL	159	298.9437			

I shall now discuss the results of the second hypothesis.

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 2 a(i)

FREEDOM FOR INITIATIVE IS CURTAILED IN THE JOB
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE: PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 STRONGLY AGREE	2 AGREE	3 UNDECIDED	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.		10.0 (8)	6.3 (5)	60.0 (48)	23.7 (19)	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	20.0 (16)	26.2 (21)	5.0 (4)	28.7 (23)	20.0 (16)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(16) 10.0	(29) 18.1	(9) 5.6	(71) 44.4	(35) 21.9	160 100.0

TABLE 2 a(ii)

FREEDOM FOR INITIATIVE IS CURTAILED IN THE JOB
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY: NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL			(1) 11.1	(17) 23.9	(7) 20.0	(25) 15.6
FARO		(5) 17.2	(3) 33.3	(9) 12.7	(8) 22.9	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP		(3) 10.3	(1) 11.1	(22) 31.0	(4) 11.4	(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(8) 50.0	(5) 17.2	(2) 22.2	(5) 7.0	(5) 14.3	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(6) 37.5	(5) 17.2	(1) 11.1	(4) 5.6	(9) 25.7	25 15.6
STEEL	(2) 12.5	(11) 37.9	(1) 11.1	(14) 19.7	(2) 5.7	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(16) 10.0	(29) 18.1	(9) 5.6	(71) 44.4	(35) 21.9	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 2 a(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1-TAIL PROB
FREEDOM:FREEDOM FOR INITIATIVE IS CURTAILED IN THE JOB												
GROUP 1	80	3.9750	0.842	0.094	3.07	0.000	5.00	158	0.000	5.00	125.49	0.000
GROUP 2	80	3.0250	1.475	0.165								

TABLE 2 a(iv)

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

FREEDOM:FREEDOM FOR INITIATIVE IS CURTAILED IN THE JOB
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE					SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE			
	VALUE	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	-2.8800	0.5723	-5.032	154	0.000	0.5841	-4.931	100.6	0.000

TABLE 2 a (v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

FREEDOM: FREEDOM TO USE PERSONAL INITIATIVE

BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	41.4800	8.2960	5.7414	.0001
WITHIN GROUPS	154	222.5200	1.4449		
TOTAL	159	264.0000			

HYPOTHESIS 2: Public workers are more likely to express attitudes that border on powerlessness than private workers.

Powerlessness in this study is measured by workers responses to three specific questions: (a) Freedom:the freedom to use personal initiative in the workplace;(b) Opportunities:the extent to which opportunities for personal creativity and/or achievement abound in the organization and (c) Decision- making:the extent to which workers take part in decision-making.

Table 2a(i) is a cross-tabulation of workers place of employment (private or public) by percentage scores on the freedom to use personal initiative in the workplace. While 20.0% of all public

workers strongly agreed that freedom for personal initiative was curtailed in their organization, there was no private worker(0%) who strongly agreed on the same question. 10.0% of all private workers simply agreed that freedom for personal initiative was curtailed in their organization compared to a larger percentage of public workers(26.2%). The difference in the pattern of response between private and public workers is even more dramatic in the column of those workers who disagreed that freedom for personal initiative was curtailed in their organization. In this particular column,60.0% of all private workers disagreed that freedom for personal initiative was curtailed in their organization while 8.7% of all public workers similarly disagreed.

A breakdown of responses by name of organization in Table 2 a(ii) reveals an unusually high percentage of university staff who belonged to the group of workers who strongly agreed that freedom for initiative was curtailed in their organization. This unusual response by the University staff is largely attributable to the leadership structure of the University. Being a new university without a tradition, the vice-chancellor of the university(at the time) was involved in virtually all aspects of university administration. Lecturers as well as non-academic staff were not given a free hand to perform their functions. Without any convention to refer to,the vice-chancellor drew arbitrary guidelines for every conceivable university activity. It was even insisted that lecture materials should revolve around either the

philosophy or the motto of the university. Since the philosophy has been discussed elsewhere, it is pertinent to state the University motto, which read thus:Love and goodness through thought and technology.Lecture materials, it was insisted, had to reflect this motto.

Thus, besides the overly centralized administrative structure, lecturers were not given a free hand to prepare their lecture materials. Compromises had to be made in order to accommodate the motto or the philosophy of the University in teaching materials.The research function of the University, which could have allowed the teaching staff to employ their personal initiative, was virtually non-existent because there was no library worthy of the name and only an ill-equiped laboratory. The combination of the aforementioned factors predictably gave rise to the high percentage of university staff who belonged to the group of public workers who strongly agreed that freedom for personal initiative was curtailed in their organization. On the other hand,the 37.5% of Ministry workers who strongly agreed that freedom for personal initiative was curtailed in their organization is understandably reflective of the characteristically restrictive structure of the Nigerian bureaucracy.

The t test of comparison between both groups (private and public) in Table 2 a(iii) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates.This shows a statistically significant difference between both groups

on the extent to which freedom for personal initiative is allowed in the workplace. The orthogonal contrast in Table 2 a(iv) also shows a significant contrast between both groups,depicted by a statistically significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. The analysis of variance in Table 2 a(v) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.0001$) that a substantive difference exists between the six groups based on the F5, 154 distribution. The result of the t test provides sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis that public workers are less likely to have their personal initiative curtailed in their workplace, as the one-tailed probability of the observations recorded occuring where the null hypothesis is true is less than .000($p.<.000$).

DECISION-MAKING Table 2 b(i) is a crosstabulation of workers place of work (private or public) by percentage scores on the extent to which workers participated in decision-making.While 63.7% of all private workers agreed that they participated in decision-making, only 22.5% of all public workers similarly agreed. The column of those workers who disagreed that they participated in decision-making presents a more vivid picture of the differences between private and public workers. In this particular column only 5.0% of all private workers disagreed that they participated in decision-making, compare to a much larger percentage of public workers(37.5%).

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 2 b(i)

PATDECIS:WORKERS TAKE PART IN DECISION MAKING
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 STRONGLY AGREE	2 AGREE	3 UNDECIDED	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.	1.3 (1)	63.7(51)	16.3 (13)	5.0 (4)	13.7(11)	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	7.5 (6)	22.5(18)	11.3 (9)	37.5(30)	21.3(17)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(7) 4.4	(69) 43.1	(22) 13.8	(34) 21.3	(28) 17.5	160 100.0

TABLE 2 b(ii)

PATDECIS:WORKERS TAKE PART IN DECISION MAKING
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL		(23) 33.3	(1) 4.5		(1) 3.6	(25) 15.6
FARO		(6) 8.7	(6) 27.3	(4) 11.8	(9) 32.1	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(1) 14.3	(22) 31.9	(6) 27.3		(1) 3.6	(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY		(4) 5.8	(1) 4.5	(9) 26.5	(11) 39.3	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(2) 28.6	(6) 8.7	(4) 18.2	(11) 32.4	(2) 7.1	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(4) 57.1	(8) 11.6	(4) 18.2	(10) 29.4	(4) 14.3	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(7) 4.4	(69) 43.1	(22) 13.8	(34) 21.3	(28) 17.5	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 2 b(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1-TAIL PROB
PATDECIS: WORKERS TAKE PART IN DECISION MAKING												
GROUP 1	80	2.6625	1.090	0.122	1.34	0.199	-4.09	158	0.000	-4.09	154.78	0.000
GROUP 2	80	3.4250	1.261	0.141								

TABLE 2 b(iv)

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

PATDECIS:WORKERS TAKE PART IN DECISION MAKING
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	VALUE	S.ERROR	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	2.2800	0.4983	4.576	154.0	0.000	0.4982	4.577	126.1	0.000

A breakdown of the groups in Table 2b (ii) shows that 57.1% of all those who strongly agreed that they participated in decision making were steel workers. This response rate among the steel workers may be due to the weekly consultative meetings that the industrial relations division of this company held with these workers. This was a forum where personal problems were brought forward with the hope that solutions would be obtained.Nonetheless, the point should be highlighted that these weekly consultative meetings were not in any strict sense of the word, participation in decision-making. This high percentage may also be partly due to the abundance of specialist skills in this organization.As one of the workers I interviewed put it,"Once you are professionally qualified and technically competent in your field, it is not uncommon for you to be consulted before important decisions (affecting your job) are taken.

The t test of comparison in Table 2 b (iii) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both pooled and separate variance estimates. This, in effect, shows that there is a significant difference between public and private sectors on the extent to which employees felt that they participated in organizational decision-making. The orthogonal contrast between both groups in Table 2 b (iv) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. The analysis of variance in Table 2 b(v) also shows a significant probability level ($p<.000$) based on the F5,

154 distribution.

TABLE 2 b(v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

PATDECIS:WORKERS TAKE PART IN DECISION-MAKING

BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	74.0004	14.8001	13.5110	.0000
WITHIN GROUPS	154	168.6933	1.0954		
TOTAL	159	242.6937			

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 2 c(i)

OPPORTUN:OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THIS ORGANIZATION
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 STRONGLY AGREE	2 AGREE	3 UNDECIDED	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.	8.7 (7)	65.0(52)	10.0 (8)	10.0 (8)	6.23(5)	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	3.7 (3)	23.7(19)	11.3 (9)	42.5 (34)	18.7(15)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(10) 6.3	(71) 44.4	(17) 10.6	(42) 26.3	(20) 12.5	160 100.0

TABLE 2c(ii)

OPPORTUN:OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THIS ORGANIZATION
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL	(2) 20.0	(18) 25.4	(3) 17.6	(1) 2.4	(1) 5.0	(25) 15.6
FARO	(3) 30.0	(11) 15.5	(2) 11.8	(6) 14.3	(3) 15.0	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(2) 20.0	(23) 32.4	(3) 17.6	(1) 2.4	(1) 5.0	(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY		(2) 2.8	(4) 23.5	(11) 26.2	(8) 40.0	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(2) 20.0	(6) 8.5	(2) 11.8	(11) 26.2	(4) 20.0	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(1) 10.0	(11) 15.5	(3) 17.6	(12) 28.6	(3) 15.0	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(10) 6.3	(71) 44.4	(17) 10.6	(42) 26.3	(20) 12.5	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 2 c(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1-TAIL PROB.
OPPORTUN:OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THIS ORGANIZATION												
GROUP 1	80	2.4000	1.001	0.112	1.34	0.198	-6.35	158	0.000	-6.35	154.76	0.000
GROUP 2	80	3.4875	1.158	0.129								

TABLE 2 c(iv)
ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

OPPORTUN:OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THIS ORGANIZATION
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE					SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE			
	VALUE	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	3.2867	0.4992	6.584	154.0	0.000	0.5037	6.525	126.8	0.000

TABLE 2c(v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

OPPORTUN: OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THIS ORGANIZATION BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	63.2071	12.6414	11.4999	.0000
WITHIN GROUPS	154	169.2867	1.0993		
TOTAL	159	232.4937			

OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THE ORGANIZATION Table 2 c(i) is a crosstabulation of workers place of work (private/public)by percentage scores on the extent to which opportunities for personal creativity(or achievement) abound in the organization. While 8.7% of all private workers strongly agreed that opportunities for personal creativity (or achievement) abound in their organization, 3.7% of all public workers strongly agreed that similar opportunities abound in their organization. A huge percentage of private workers (65.0%) simply agreed that opportunities abound in their organization, compared to only 23.7% of all public workers . Conversely,only 10.0% of all private workers disagreed that opportunities abound in their organization, while a comparatively

larger percentage of public workers (42.5%)disagreed with the same proposition. This marked contrast in the pattern of response between private and public workers is also reflected in the column of those workers who strongly disagreed that opportunities for personal achievement existed in their organization, 6.2% of all private workers as against 18.7% of public workers.

A breakdown of the percentage distribution of the extent to which opportunities abound in the work place by name of organization in Table 2c(ii) shows that the Mechanic Workshop had the highest pecentage (32.4%) in the column of those workers who agreed that opportunities abound in their workplace, while the University had the highest percentage in the column of those workers who strongly disagreed that opportunities abound in their organization. One expected that a 100% of the workers in the General Mechanic Workshop would agree that opportunities abound in their workplace but this was not so. The t test of comparison between public and private workers in Table 2c (iii) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. This demonstrates that there is a statistically significant difference between both groups on the extent to which opportunities (for personal achievement) abound in their organizations. The orthogonal contrast between both groups in Table 2c(iv) shows a statistically significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and seperate variance estimates.The analysis of variance in Table 2 c(v) also shows a significant probability ($p<.000$) level based on the F5, 154 distribution.

Considering the t test results of the three measures of powerlessness (freedom to take initiative in the workplace,the extent to which opportunities for personal achievement abound in the workplace and the extent to which workers participated in decision making) the null hypothesis is rejected that private workers are more likely to express attitudes that border on powerlessness, as the one-tailed probability of the observations recorded occuring where the null hypothesis is true is less than .000($p<.000$) for the three measures of powerlessness. Thus, an alternative hypothesis is put forward substantiated by the results, that public workers are more likely to express attitudes that border on powerlessness than private workers.

HYPOTHESIS 3:Public workers are more likely to be bored with their job than private workers.

This hypothesis is upheld by the results in Tables 3(a) to 3(e). Table 3(a) is a crosstabulation of workers' place of work (private/public) by percentage scores on whether they regarded their job as boring. While 12.5% of all public workers strongly agreed that their job was boring, none of the private workers(0) strongly agreed that their job was boring. 10% of all private workers simply agreed that their job was boring, compared to a larger pecentage of public workers(18.7%). The difference in the pattern of response between public and private workers becomes more glaring in the column of those workers who disagreed that their job was boring, 62.5% of all private workers and 30.0% of all public

workers.

A breakdown of percentage responses by organization shows that University staff constituted 66.7% of the category of workers who agreed that their job was boring. The lack of facilities (particularly a library and a laboratory) to carry out the important functions of teaching and research, coupled with the over-centralization of the University administration around a personality figure (in the person of the vice-chancellor) could only elicit a response of boredom from the university staff. The rate of turnover among the university staff was particularly high. Apart from the staff who absconded, many others secured jobs in neighbouring universities and left. This high rate of attrition among the University staff was testimony to the unpalatable conditions of service operative in the university at the time.

The t test of comparison between both groups in Table 3 (c) shows highly significant probability levels, $p<.004$ for the pooled variance estimate and $p<.0004$ for the separate variance estimate. Both probability levels indicate a significant difference between both groups on the extent to which employees regarded their jobs as boring. Based on the result of this test, the null hypothesis is rejected that private workers are more likely to be bored with their jobs, as the one-tailed probability of the observations recorded occuring where the null hypothesis is true is less than.004. Thus, an alternative hypothesis is put forward, substantiated by the results, that public workers are more likely

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 3 a

BORING:JOB IS BORING
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 STRONGLY AGREE	2 AGREE	3 UNDECIDED	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.		10.0 (8)	10.0 (8)	62.5 (50)	17.5 (14)	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	12.5 (10)	18.7 (15)	12.5 (10)	30.0 (24)	26.3 (21)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(10) 6.2	(23) 14.4	(18) 11.3	(74) 46.3	(35) 21.9	160 100.0

TABLE 3 b

BORING:JOB IS BORING
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL		(2) 8.7	(3) 16.7	(14) 18.9	(6) 17.1	(25) 15.6
FARO			(2) 11.1	(18) 24.3	(5) 14.3	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP		(6) 26.1	(3) 16.7	(18) 24.3	(3) 8.6	(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(6) 66.7	(2) 8.7	(3) 16.7	(9) 12.2	(5) 14.3	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(2) 11.7	(4) 17.4	(2) 11.1	(5) 6.8	(12) 34.3	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(2) 22.2	(9) 39.1	(5) 27.8	(10) 13.5	(4) 11.4	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(10) 6.2	(23) 14.4	(18) 11.3	(74) 46.3	(35) 21.9	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 3 c

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1.-TAIL PROB.
BORING:JOB IS BORING												
GROUP 1	80	3.8750	0.817	0.091	2.97	0.000	2.75	158	0.004	2.75	126.76	0.004
GROUP 2	80	3.3750	1.409	0.157								

TABLE 3 d

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

BORING:JOB IS BORING
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	-1.5133	0.5412	-.796	154	0.006	0.5448	-2.778	107.0	0.006

to be bored with their jobs.

The orthogonal contrast between both groups on the boredom scale also shows a highly significant probability level($p<.006$) for both the pooled and the separate variance estimates. The analysis of variance in Table 3(e) also shows a significant difference between the six groups on the boredom scale based on a probability level of $p<.000$ on the $F_{5,154}$ distribution.

TABLE 3 e

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

BORING: JOB IS BORING

BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	20.5333	4.1067	3.1786	.0093
WITHIN GROUPS	154	198.9667	1.2920		
TOTAL	159	227.3750			

HYPOTHESIS 4:Private workers are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than public workers.

This hypothesis is measured by respondents' scores on four items

(questions) on the questionnaire schedule. These items were (Timesati) the extent to which workers were satisfied with their job, (Conswelf) the extent to which workers welfare was seen as a priority in the organization, (Fufiment) the extent to which the job fulfilled respondents' expectations (initial expetations about the job) and (Presnfel) respondents' present feeling towards the job.These last three questions, as previously stated, are indirectly related to the hypothesis. These questions are indirectly related because they could only separately or collectively provide an insight into the reasons why the worker is satisfied or not satisfied with the job. A worker who moves into an urban organization with expectations which are largely shaped by rural organizational circumstances (with emphasis placed on co-operation and workers' welfare) may either have his expectations fulfilled or dashed, and this would, correspondingly, determine his level of satisfaction with the job. His level of satisfaction will in turn determine his work attitude.

THE WELFARE OF WORKERS

Table 4a(i) is a crosstabulation of workers' place of employment (private/ public) by percentage scores on the extent to which workers' welfare was given priority consideration in the organization. While 21.3% of all private workers strongly agreed that workers' welfare was given priority consideration in their organization, 8.8% of all public workers strongly agreed with the same proposition. Similarly,63.7% of all private workers agreed

that workers'welfare was given priority consideration in their organization, compared to 32.5% of all public workers. There equally is a sharp difference in the pattern of response between private and public workers in the column of those workers who disagreed that workers'welfare was a priority issue in their organization, 2.5% of all private workers as against 28.8% of public workers. While none of the private workers strongly disagreed that workers'welfare was a priority issue in their organization, 18.7% of all public workers strongly disagreed. A breakdown of percentage responses by organization reveals that the Mechanic Workshop had the highest percentage in the category of workers who strongly agreed that workers welfare was given priority consideration in their organization. This high percentage is reflective of the closely knit social relationships that existed among workers in this workshop. Every workshop member knew where all others within the workshop lived. Interpersonal visits were frequent, and gift items were exchanged particularly during ceremonies and festivals. The workshop more or less played a custodial role to these workers majority of whom were migrants. Sundays were usually set aside for a somewhat nostalgic display of rhythmic and ecstatic traditional dances. During these ceremonies long forgotten indigenous tunes were recalled and collectively echoed amidst the conviviality of the occasion. The nolstagia that surrounded these ceremonies was, no doubt, an indication that these migrants longed for the day they would return to their villages. These ceremonies usually revolved around households of individual workers. On the other hand, University staff constituted 40.0% of

those workers who strongly disagreed that workers' welfare was given priority consideration in their organization, while staff of the Steel Company constituted another 40.0% within the same column.

The t test of comparison between both groups in Table 4 a(iii) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. This gives empirical evidence to the claim that a difference exists between both groups on the extent to which workers' welfare was given priority consideration. The orthogonal contrast between both groups in Table 4 a(iv) also shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. The analysis of variance in Table 4a(v) likewise shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.0000$), which represents a significant difference between the six groups in the F5, 154 distribution.

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 4 a(i)

CONSWELF:WORKERS WELFARE IS PRIORITY IN THIS ORGANIZATION
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 STRONGLY AGREE	2 AGREE	3 UNDECIDED	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.	21.3 (17)	63.7(51)	12.5(10)	2.5 (2)		(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	8.8 (7)	32.5(26)	11.3 (9)	28.8(23)	18.7(15)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(24) 15.0	(77) 48.1	(19) 11.9	(25) 15.6	(15) 9.4	160 100

TABLE 4 a(ii)

CONSWELF:WORKERS WELFARE IS PRIORITY IN THIS ORGANIZATION
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL	(2) 8.3	(20) 26.0	(3) 15.8			(25) 15.6
FARO	(7) 29.2	(14) 18.2	(2) 10.5	(2) 8.0		(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(8) 33.3	(17) 22.1	(5) 26.3			(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(2) 8.3	(6) 7.8	(1) 5.3	(10) 40.0	(6) 40.0	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(4) 16.7	(6) 7.8	(3) 15.8	(9) 36.0	(3) 20.0	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(1) 4.2	(14) 18.2	(5) 26.3	(4) 16.0	(6) 40.0	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(24) 15.0	(77) 48.1	(19) 11.9	(25) 15.6	(15) 9.4	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 4 a(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1-TAIL PROB
CONSWELF:WORKERS WELFARE IS PRIORITY IN THIS ORGANIZATION												
GROUP 1	80	1.9625	0.665	0.074	3.87	0.000	-7.32	158	0.000	-7.32	117.30	0.000
GROUP 2	80	3.1625	1.307	0.146								

TABLE 4 a(iv)

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

CONSWELF:WORKERS WELFARE IS PRIORITY IN THIS ORGANIZATION
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	VALUE	S.ERROR	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	S.ERROR	SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	3.6200	0.4940	7.328	154.0	0.000	0.4960	7.299	108.1	0.000

TABLE 4 a(v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

CONSWELF:WORKERS WELFARE IS GIVEN PRIORITY CONSIDERATION IN THIS ORGANIZATION BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	61.5550	12.3110	11.4334	.0000
WITHIN GROUPS	154	165.8200	1.0768		
TOTAL	159	227.3750			

THE FULFILMENT OF WORKERS'PRIOR EXPECTATIONS.

Table 4 b(i) is a crosstabulation of workers place of employment (public or private) by percentage scores on the extent to which the job has fulfilled their expectations (initial expectations about the job). While 78.8% of all private workers affirm that their job has fulfilled the prior expectations they had about urban employment, 43.8% of all public workers agree the same. Conversely, 21.3% of all private workers expressed the view that their present job has not fulfilled the prior expectation they had about urban employment, compared to a much higher percentage (56.3%) of public workers.

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 4 b(i)

FUFIMENT: JOB HAS FULFILLED WORKERS' EXPECTATIONS
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE: PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	YES	NO	
PRIVATE ORG.	78.8(63) 64.3	21.3(17) 27.4	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	43.8(35) 35.7	56.3(45) 72.6	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(98) 61.3	(62) 38.8	160 100.0

TABLE 4 b(ii)

FUFIMENT: JOB HAS FULFILLED WORKERS DREAMS
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY: NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	YES	NO	
NEIL	(20) 20.4	(5) 8.1	(25) 15.6
FARO	(22) 22.4	(3) 4.8	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(21) 21.4	(9) 14.5	(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(10) 10.2	(15) 24.2	(25) 15.6
MINSTRY	(14) 14.3	(11) 17.7	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(11) 11.2	(19) 30.6	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(98) 61.3	(62) 38.8	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 4 b(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1-TAIL PROB
FUFIMENT:JOB HAS FULFILLED WORKERS' DREAMS												
GROUP 1	80	1.2125	0.412	0.046	1.47	0.089	-4.84	158	0.000	-4.84	152.47	0.000
GROUP 2	80	1.5625	0.499	0.056								

TABLE 4 b (iv)

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

FUFIMENT:JOB HAS FULFILLED WORKERS' DREAMS
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	1.0533	0.2173	4.848	154.0	0.000	0.2158	4.880	142.4	0.000

A breakdown of respondents scores by name of organization in Table 4 b(ii) shows that the highest percentage of those who said that the job has not fulfilled their expectations came from the Steel Company (30.6%)This percentage is followed closely, in the same column, by the University staff, who made up 24.2% of this response category. The similarity of response in both organizations is explicable in terms of workers' expectations that remained largely unfulfilled ,years after securing the job. The circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Federal University of Technology, Yola, and the Iron and Steel Company, Aladja-Warri, were somewhat similar. The Federal University of Technology, Yola, was meant to be a radical deviation from conventional universities in the scope of its curriculum and the pattern of its organization. It was especially meant to be a citadel of technological research,the results of which would hopefully launch the country into the technological age. The act establishing the University stated its objectives,among others, as: (a) to act as agent and catalyst through postgraduate training, research and innovation for the effective and economic utilization, exploitation and conservation of the country's natural, economic and human resources; (b) to identify the technological problems and needs of the society and to find solutions to them within the context of overall national development and (c) to provide and promote sound, basic scientific training as a foundation for the development of technology and applied sciences, taking into consideration indigenous culture and the need for national unity.

But these ambitions remained unfulfilled years after the establishment of the university. The combination of these factors profoundly influenced work attitudes in this organization.

Like the Federal University of Technology, Yola, the circumstances surrounding the establisment of the Iron and Steel Company, Aladja-Warri, raised the expectations of workers to a level that could not be fulfilled years after the company started production. For example, the nation-wide debate that preceded the inception of the Steel Company raised the expectations of workers to a level quite discrepant from the reality they now experience. It was generally expected that within two years of its establishment the Steel Company would be capable of producing metal flats in sufficient quantity to facilitate the local assembly of cars. The local assembly of cars with several of the components rolling off the steel mill would have (they believe) meant cheaper cars for the workforce and the entire citizenry. Similarly, the workers in this company expected to see particularly unique and attractive conditions of sevice (this expectation was based on the undue importance attached to the steel company as a motivator of technological change) but felt disappointed that the conditions of service here were the same as other public organizations. These factors together explain the pattern of response by the workers in this organization.

Faro Bottling Company has the highest percentage in the category of workers who agreed that their job had fulfilled their exectations.

This pattern of response is reflective of the social climate operative in this organization. The relationship among workers in this organization is warm. Apart from the expatriate staff who spoke a little English (because they were Italians), the workers predominantly spoke Hausa (the local language). This linguistic practice was beneficial to the organization because a menial worker could fluently and confidently discuss policy issues since he fully understood the language and felt very much at home in group discussions. At the end of every forthnight each worker was entitled to a carton (crate) of soft drink (Zit or Africola) as an inducement. A worker who was throwing a party usually had his fortnightly allocation increased.

The t test of comparison between both groups in Table 4 b(iii) shows a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. This indicates a statistically significant difference between both groups on the extent to which employees expectations were fulfilled. The orthogonal contrast between both groups in Table 4 b(iv) also shows a significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates.

TABLE 4 b(v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

FUFIMENT:JOB HAS FULFILLED WORKERS DREAMS BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	5.9083	1.1817	5.6749	.0001
WITHIN GROUPS	154	32.0667	.2082		
TOTAL	159	37.9750			

The analysis of variance in Table 4b(v) similarly shows a statistically significant contrast between the six groups ($p<.0001$) in the $F_{5,154}$ distribution.

FEELING TOWARDS THE JOB.

Table 4c(i) is a crosstabulation of workers' place of employment (private/public) by percentage scores on their present feeling towards the job. The percentage of those workers who were enthusiastic about their job was quite similar for both private and public sectors. 67.5% of all private workers were enthusiastic about

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 4 c(i)

PRESNFEL: PRESENT FEELING TOWARDS THE JOB
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE: PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	1 ENTHUSIA-STIC	2 INDIFFER-ENT	3 DISLIKE WORK	4 DONT KNOW	
PRIVATE ORG.	67.5(54)	30.0(24)	1.3 (1)	1.3 (1)	(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	56.3 (45)	16.3(13)	10.0(8)	17.5(14)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(99) 61.9	(37) 23.1	(9) 5.6	(15) 9.4	160 100.0

TABLE 4 c(ii)

PRESNFEL: PRESENT FEELING TOWARDS THE JOB
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY: NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	ENTHUSIA-SIASTIC	INDIFFER-ENT	DISLIKE WORK	DONT KNOW	
NEIL	(18) 18.2	(7) 18.9			(25) 15.6
FARO	(20) 20.2	(4) 10.8		(1) 6.7	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(16) 16.2	(13) 35.1	(1) 11.1		(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(13) 13.1	(6) 16.2	(2) 22.2	(4) 26.7	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(17) 17.2	(2) 5.4	(1) 11.1	(5) 33.3	(25) 18.8
STEEL	(15) 15.2	(5) 13.5	(5) 55.6	(5) 33.3	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(99) 61.9	(37) 23.1	(9) 5.6	(15) 9.4	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 4 c(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T-VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T-VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1-TAIL PROB
PRESNFEL:PRESENT FEELING TOWARDS THE JOB												
GROUP 1	80	1.3625	0.579	0.065	4.08	0.000	-3.60	158	0.000	-3.60	115.56	0.000
GROUP 2	80	1.8875	1.169	0.131								

TABLE 4 c(iv)

ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

PRESNFEL:PRESENT FEELING TOWARDS THE JOB
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	VALUE	S.ERROR	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	1.5800	0.4421	3.574	154.0	0.000	0.4424	3.572	107.2	0.001

their job, compared to 56.3% of all public workers. However,a considerable difference existed between both groups in the category of workers who disliked their jobs. While a meagre 1.3% of all private workers disliked their job, a comparatively larger percentage of all public workers (10.0%) expressed dissatisfaction. Equally important is the discrepant pattern of response between private and public workers in the column of those respondents who were unsure (don't know category) of the feeling they had towards their job. For example, while 17.5% of all public workers were unsure of the feeling they had towards their job, 1.3% of all private workers expressed a similar view.

TABLE 4 c(v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

PRESNFEL:PRESENT FEELING TOWARDS THE JOB

BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	12.7200	2.5440	2.9506	.0142
WITHIN GROUPS	154	132.7800	.8622		
TOTAL	159	145.5000			

A breakdown of the percentage responses by the name of organization indicates that Faro Bottling Company had the highest percentage in the column of those workers who were enthusiastic

about their job, while the highest percentage of those workers who disliked their job came from the Steel Company. The t test of comparison between both groups in Table 4 c(iii) shows a highly significant probability level($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. Although the response rate between private and public employees are similar in the category of those who were enthusistic about their jobs, the overall comparisn shows a significant difference between both groups on how workers felt about the job. The orthogonal contrast between both groups in Table 4 c(iv) shows a significant probability level($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. The analysis of variance in Table 4 c (v) also shows a significant contrast between the six groups on how employees felt about their job, based on the F5 154 distribution.

NUMBER OF TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB

It should be pointed out that,although statistically significant, this question drew a more mixed response than any other in the questionnaire schedule. This mixed response does not have anything to do with the validity or reliability of this scale.Rather, it is the consequence of the natural tendency of workers to say 'I am satisfied with the job', even if they felt otherwise. Table 4 d (i) is a crosstabulation of workers' place of employment (private/public) by percentage scores on the frequency of satisfaction derived from the job. While 33.8% of all private workers indicated that they were satisfied with their job all of

the time,only 22.5% of all public workers expressed the same view. This pattern of response between private and public workers is also reflected in the column of those respondents who indicated that they were satisfied with their job a good deal of the time. In this latter column 47.5% of all private workers indicated that they were satisfied with their job a good deal of the time compared to 32.5% of public workers. A more revealing difference in the pattern of response between private and public workers can be seen in the column of those respondents who indicated that they were occasionally satisfied with their job, 6.3% of all private workers compared to a much larger percentage of public workers (35.0%).

A breakdown of the percentage distribution by name of organization shows that Neil Gobe Bakery had the highest percentage in the category of those workers who were satisfied with their job all the time. It should be recalled that a strong religious bond (all were Muslims) existed among workers in this organization. This is the only organization in our sample which produced food. As one of the respondents put it,"If everything fails, we are certain of 'wacking'(eating) a meal of bread each time we come to work".This remark is suggestive of the prevailing hardship in the wider society. In recent times, partly due to the exorbitant cost of importing flour,bread had become a scarce and expensive commodity in Nigeria.A loaf of bread in some places may cost as much as three naira. Thus, workers in Neil Gobe Bakery, apart from their salaries and the warm social relationships, also had the added advantage of

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 4 d(i)

TIMESATI:NUMBER OF TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	ALL THE TIME	A GOOD DEAL OF THE TIME	HALF THE TIME	OCCASIONALLY	NEVER	
PRIVATE ORG.	33.8 (27)	47.5(38)	12.5(10)	6.3(5)		(80) 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	22.5(18)	32.5(26)	8.8 (7)	35.0(28)	1.3(1)	(80) 50.0
TOTAL	(45) 28.1	(64) 40.0	(17) 10.6	(33) 20.6	(1) .6	160 100.0

TABLE 4 d(ii)

TIMESATI:NUMBER OF TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	ALL THE TIME	A GOOD DEAL OF THE TIME	HALF THE TIME	OCCASIONALLY	NEVER	
NEIL	(11) 24.4	(9) 14.1	(2) 11.8	(3) 9.1		(25) 15.6
FARO	(8) 17.8	(12) 18.8	(3) 17.6	(2) 6.1		(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(8) 17.8	(17) 26.6	(5) 29.4			(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(3) 6.7	(7) 10.9		(14) 42.4	(1) 100.0	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(7) 15.6	(7) 10.9	(4) 23.5	(7) 21.2		(25) 15.6
STEEL	(8) 17.8	(12) 18.8	(3) 17.6	(7) 21.2		(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(45) 28.1	(64) 40.0	(17) 10.6	(33) 20.6	(1) .6	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 4 d(iii)

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. PROB.	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 1.-TAIL PROB.
TIMESATI:NUMBER TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB												
GROUP 1	80	1.9125	0.845	0.094	2.08	0.001	-4.15	158	0.000	-4.15	140.73	0.000
GROUP 2	80	2.6000	1.218	0.136								

TABLE 4 d(iv)
ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

TIMESATI:NUMBER OF TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	VALUE	S.ERROR	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	S.ERROR	SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	2.1200	0.4904	4.323	154	0.000	0.4970	4.266	129.9	0.000

obtaining this scarce and expensive commodity (bread) free of charge. This added advantage coupled with the especially friendly organizational climate, accounted for why so many of these workers were satisfied with their jobs all the time. On the other hand, the only respondent (an outlier in statistical terms) who was practically never satisfied with the job came from the university community.

The t test of comparison between both groups in Table 4 d(iii) shows a statistically significant probability level ($p<.000$) for both the pooled and separate variance estimates. This shows a statistically significant difference between both groups in the frequency with which workers were satisfied with their jobs.

TABLE 4 d(v)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

TIMESATI:NUMBER OF TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB

BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	29.0937	5.8187	5.4840	.0001
WITHIN GROUPS	154	163.4000	1.0610		
TOTAL	159	192.4937			

The orthogonal contrast between both groups in Table 4 d(iv) also shows a highly significant probability level($p<.000$) for both pooled and separate variance estimates. The analysis of variance in Table 4 d(v) likewise displays a statistically significant difference between the six groups depicted by a highly significant probability level ($p<.000$) based on the F5, 154 distribution.

Based on the t test results of these four items(Conswelf,the extent to which workers welfare is considered as a priority in the organization;Opportun, the extent to which opportunities for personal achievement abound in the organization; Presnfel, how workers feel about the job and Timesati, a measure of the relative frequency with which workers were satisfied with the job)the null hypothesis is rejected that public workers are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs, as the one-tailed probability of the observation recorded occuring where the null hypothesis is true is less than .000($p<.000$) for all the four items. Thus, an alternative hypothesis is put forward substantiated by the results, that private workers are more likely be satisfied with their jobs.

HYPOTHESIS 5:Private workers would more likely blame themselves rather than their organization for any shortcoming in their level of personal achievement within the organization.

This hypothesis is upheld by the result of the measure (Blamesef) of the extent to which workers would blame themselves, rather than their organization for any shortcoming in their level of personal

achievement within the organization. Table 5 (a) is a crosstabulation of workers place of employment(private/public) by percentage scores on the extent to which they would blame themselves or the organization for any shortcoming in their level of achievement within the organization. While 31.3% of all private workers strongly agreed that they blamed themselves rather than their organization, 27.5% of all public workers strongly agreed with the same statement. Similarly, 52.5% of all private workers agreed that they blamed themselves, compared to a smaller percentage of public workers (30.0%). Conversely, 3.8% of all private workers disagreed with the proposition, compared to a significantly larger percentage of public workers (21.3%).This different pattern of response between private and public workers is also reflected in the column of those respondents who strongly disagreed that they blamed themselves for any shortcoming they experienced in their workplace. In this latter column 2.5% of all private workers strongly disagreed with the statement, while a comparatively larger percentage of public workers (11.3%) strongly disagreed.

A breakdown of the percentage distribution of the responses by name of organization in Table 5 (b) shows that the highest percentage in the category of those workers who would blame themselves for any shortcoming in the organization came from the private sector (the Mechanic Workshop, 25.5%) This percentage reflects the amount of control that these workers have over their jobs. As one supervisor put it, " If any particular job is not well done in this

shed(meaning the mini- workshop), my master(the headman) will hold me responsible." Thus, specific persons who were charged with specific responsibilities were also the ones to receive blame if such responsibilities were not properly performed. The highest percentage in the category of those workers who disagreed that they would blame themselves came from the Ministry. This pattern of response is reflective of the little control public servants have over public jobs because of the seemingly interminable organizational hierarchy. Since these workers contribute little or nothing to the decision-making process, they do not feel obliged to accept responsibility for any shortcomings they experience in the organization.

The t test of comparison between both public and private groups in Table 5(c) shows a significant probability level($p<.001$) for both the pooled and the separate variance estimates. This result indicates that there is a substantial difference between both groups on the extent to which workers would blame themselves rather than the organization for any shortcoming they experienced in the organization.The orthogonal contrast between both groups shows a significant probability level ($p<.000$) for the pooled variance estimate and ($p<.001$) for the separate variance estimate.

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE 5 a

BLAMESEF:WORKERS BLAME THEMSELVES FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL
BY VARIABLE EMPLACE:PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLACE	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
PRIVATE ORG.	31.3(25.)	52.5(42)	10.0(8)	3.8(3)	2.5(2)	80 50.0
PUBLIC ORG.	27.5(22)	30.0(24)	10.0(8)	21.3(17)	11.3(9)	80 50.0
TOTAL	(47) 29.4	(66) 41.3	(16) 10.0	(20) 12.5	(11) 6.9	160 100.0

TABLE 5 b

BLAMESEF:WORKERS BLAME THEMSELVES FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

NAMEPLOY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
NEIL	(4) 8.5	(17) 25.8	(1) 6.3	(2) 10.0	(1) 9.1	(25) 15.6
FARO	(9) 19.1	(12) 18.2	(3) 18.8		(1) 9.1	(25) 15.6
MECH WORKSHOP	(12) 25.5	(13) 19.7	(4) 25.0	(1) 5.0		(30) 18.8
UNIVERSITY	(3) 6.4	(9) 13.6	(4) 25.0	(6) 30.0	(3) 27.3	(25) 15.6
MINISTRY	(9) 19.1	(5) 7.6	(2) 12.5	(4) 20.0	(5) 45.5	(25) 15.6
STEEL	(10) 21.3	(10) 15.2	(2) 12.5	(7) 35.0	(1) 9.1	(30) 18.8
TOTAL	(47) 29.4	(66) 41.3	(16) 10.0	(20) 12.5	(11) 6.9	160 100.0

T-TEST TABLE 5 c

GROUP 1 PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
GROUP 2 PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB	POOLED VARIANCE EST. T VALUE	POOLED VARIANCE EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	POOLED VARIANCE EST. 2-TAIL PROB	SEPERATE VAR.EST. T VALUE	SEPERATE VAR.EST. DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SEPERATE VAR.EST. 2-TAIL PROB
BLAMESEF:WORKERS BLAME THEMSELVES FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL												
GROUP 1	80	1.9375	0.891	0.100	2.41	0.000	-3.53	158	0.001	-3.53	134.85	0.000
GROUP 2	80	2.5875	1.384	0.155								

TABLE 5 d
ONEWAY ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST

BLAMESEF:WORKERS BLAME THEMSELVES FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL
BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

CONTRAST COEFFICIENT MATRIX

	GRP 1	GRP 2	GRP 3	GRP 4	GRP 5	GRP 6
CONTRAST 1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE					SEPERATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE			
	VALUE	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F.	T.PROB	S.ERROR	T.VALUE	D.F	T.PROB
CONTRAST 1	1.9800	0.5526	3.583	154.0	0.000	0.5587	3.544	117.4	0.001

TABLE 5(e)

ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

BLAMESEF:WORKERS WILL BLAME THEMSELVES FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL

BY VARIABLE NAMEPLOY:NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION

SOURCE	D.F	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F.RATIO	F.PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	5	23.4750	4.6950	3.4845	.0052
WITHIN GROUPS	154	207.5000	1.3474		
TOTAL	159	230.9750			

The analysis of variance in Table 5 (e) also shows a highly significant probability level($p<.005$) between the six groups based on the $F_{5,154}$ distribution. Based on the result of the t test the null hypothesis is rejected that public workers are more likely to blame themselves for any shortcoming they experienced in their organization, as the one-tailed probability of the observations recorded occuring where the null hypothesis is true is less than .001($p<.001$). Thus, an alternative hypothesis is put forward substantiated by the results, that private workers are more likely to blame themselves for any shortcoming they experienced in their workplace. Thus, a significant difference exists between private and public workers on all the scales on which they were compared. I shall now discuss the summary and conclusion of this study.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The hypotheses were empirically upheld, indicating the existence of a significant contrast between both groups (private/public employees) on the attitudinal items on which they were compared. This contrast is also reflective of the value conflict with which the worker contends in the public employment sector. Organizational size did not prove to be a crucial variable in the determination of work attitudes in this study. This result affirms quite clearly that the orientations which workers bring from the larger environment sharply contrast with the values and norms implicit in the objective conditions of urban employment and that this discrepancy adversely affects work attitudes. Private workers tend to uphold positive work attitudes because aspects of rural values which constitute workers' orientation are fused with private organizational structures, and this fusion in itself(an apparent identification with their own values) is a potent motivating force on these workers. By contrast, public workers are negatively disposed to their jobs because the values implicit in public organizational structures conflict with indigenous work values which these workers bring from the larger society.

Nigerian scholars who have arrived at similar conclusions include Ocho(1982), who explained that the alien characteristics of public work and their incompatibility with the traditional

community work ethics are the main causes of low work motivation and non-job involvement among Nigerian workers. Enumerating some of the restrictive features of Nigerian public organizations, Eze(1983:12), noted that mistrust is one of the factors which caused low motivation, dissatisfaction, non-job involvement and low productivity among Nigerian workers (also see Oloko,1982). By way of recapitulation, the Nigerian worker posesses an orientation that is overwhelmingly rurally rooted. This basically means that the worker has internalised work-related norms which provide a point of reference for judging urban employment incentive schemes. These rurally anchored work norms are either learned through direct rural experience (for those who are first generation migrants) or through urban socialization(for those who were born in the city). They derive from various cultural/ religious institutions and generally emphasize, inter alia, a sense of collective responsibility: responsibility should be equally shared among members of an organization; collective decision-making: every member of an organization should participate in decision making; personal relationships: relationships in an organization should, as much as possible, be face to face; extra-organizational interaction, social relations among workers should transcend the narrow confines of the workplace, and cordial relationships in the workplace should,as much as possible, be translated into frequent inter-worker visits in the larger society.

The spiralling obligations to members of a vast extended family usually prompt the rural dweller to migrate to the urban centre.

Once urban employment is secured, benefits accruable from such jobs are traditionally distributed among kinsmen. Such benefits may not necessarily be pecuniary ones. Sometimes, products of the company in which the worker is working are taken to the village during weekends and distributed among kinsmen. It is a rare African who secures an urban job and isolates himself from his extended family members. Beside these tangible ways of meeting the obligations of kinsmen, there are also intangible but significant ways by which the worker satisfies these somewhat elaborate obligations.The role of rites de passage ceremonies and traditional festivals in the lives of these people has been discussed in another section of this thesis; therefore, I shall not dwell on it any further, but suffice it to say that these ceremonies are ocassions in which the worker must participate in the company of his workmates (see Peace,1979). During these ceremonies, the worker is expected to present gifts and to show an absolute understanding of the village tradition. In this latter respect, he joins his village age grades in certain traditional rituals associated with some of these ceremonies. These core elements of village life tend to have an enduring influence on the worker.

It is also important to reiterate the point that it is obligatory for Muslims to support or give alms to destitutes or other disadvantaged members of society. Hausa peoples who migrate to other parts of Nigeria are generally known to live in closely knit communities (see Cohen,1969 for a discussion of the Hausa community in Sabo,Ibadan). In these communities, new migrants are usually

supported until they are able to fend for themselves. Thus, for these people, co-operative values result from a combination of cultural/religious institutions (see Kilby,1969;Last,1967). For example, the supportive role of the mallam's household in the education of the Muslim youth (Almajiri) has been highlighted by several scholars among whom are Fafunwa, 1974; Schildkrout, 1983; Paden, 1974. The importance attached to co-operative effort in Islamic values has been highlighted by Fafunwa, 1974; Isa, 1971; Cohen,1969, Schildkrout, 1983. The co-operation and the spirit of companionship that exists among Brotherhood members have been noted by Isichei,1983; Paden,1974;Lubeck,1981. The emphasis on co-operative effort in the discharge of communal responsibility in hausa villages has also been documented by Shenton and Watts,1979 (also see Clough,1985). While highlighting the supportive role of the Vizier, Last (1967:182), for example,indicated that:

> The Vizier also promoted Koranic education. His house supported scholars and teachers. The Vizier had the further responsibility of helping the Imams and Koran readers. Any stranger, orphan or destitute who appealed to the Amir al-mu'minin was sent to the Vizier. Gidado, it was said, used to go round seeing if there was anyone who was hungry or without clothes or whose house needed repair, and see to it that all was put right.

The crucial point to note is that this multitude of co-operative values and obligations, which largely derive from core

cultural/religious institutions, tends to influence the expectations that workers possess about public employment. For example, the flexible characteristics of these institutions, might prompt the worker to expect similar organizational characteristics in urban employment sectors. The emphasis on work group solidarity in cutural/religious organizations would similarly influence the migrant to expect such solidary groups in urban employment. The profuse use of personal initiative within the framework of these various institutions (religious/cultural) would influence the worker to expect to use his discretion unrestrictively in urban organizational matters. Above all, the worker is a member of an elaborate extended family network whose members are closely-knit and overwhelmingly co-operative and supportive of each other. It is partly to satisfy these elaborated needs that the migrant secured an urban job in the first place. Such family needs might include contributions towards the tuition of able members of the extended family,towards the bride price of relatives, etc. Since the worker secured an urban employment partly to meet these obligations, work attitudes are formed according to the extent to which these obligations are met in urban employment sectors.

The public worker is particularly disappointed by the bureaucratic emphasis on centralism in decision making, impersonality, non-delegation of responsibility and all the rest which are diametrically opposed to the values which he has internalised.

This value discrepant position in the workplace, as the empirical

results have shown ,has profound repercusions for work attitudes and behaviour. An illustrative example of the effect of value conflict on workers' morale is provided by Lubeck(1975:146). According to him," initially the workers' conflict with the technical manager concerned the allocation of time for prayer. Sometime during 1961, a worker was caught praying without permission and was penalized by a seven-day suspension from work. He was able to arouse support for his position among fellow workers, so that an appeal was made to the Emir resulting in the worker's reinstatement along with the provision for proper prayer breaks (The Union Secretary recalled...I told them that we should not agree to this ruining of our religion by the company"(also see Cohen,1980:9)." Thus ,because the bureaucratic features are antithetical and unaccommodative of core elements in workers' values,these people tend, generally, to develop work attitudes that are wholly incongruent with organizational goals. Workers do not feel a sense of commitment to organizational goals because they make little or no input in deciding what those goals should be in the first place.

An important corollary argument to the one above is that the rigid characteristic of each level of the bureaucratic structure (as a result of past and recent revelations of the extent of fraud in these places) also promotes corrupt behaviour. The high degree of confidentiality maintained in each level of the bureaucratic hierarchy together with the impersonality characteristic of official relationships are two factors which tend to shield

corrupt practices in this sector. It is generally regarded as 'fashionable' to defraud a public organization. Because its features are alien and unadaptive to the aforementioned indigenous value configurations, it is regarded as a'stranger organization.' Commitment to its objectives is minimal. It is perceived as a place to make money with little regard to decency or morality. A public servant who lines his pocket with public money and uses part of that money to build a church or a mosque in his home village is regarded generally as'the man of the people' and consistently treated to a tumultous and sumptuos reception each time he visits the village. Such a worker is regarded to have'traded well'and made profit because traditionally kinsmen only traded with strangers (that is the reason I refered to the Nigerian bureaucracy as a 'stranger organization'earlier on) and not with other kinsmen(see Paul and Laura Bohannan,1968;Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg,1961). According to Basden (1966), if a crime is perpetrated outside the community area, when the criminal returns safely, especially if he brings back booty,he will be congratulated on his success. Thus, an alien organization or a stranger could be defrauded with impunity and the gain deployed into community projects. It is important to emphasize that the first and most significant loyalty of Nigerian workers is to their village communities (see Ekeh,1975;Arnold, 1977). The workers' emotional and sentimental attachments are not necessarily with the urban jobs but with their home towns (see Nzimiro,1965). This is the place where people maintain face to face relationships and collectively share responsibility in a way that cannot be said of public organizations. It should be

reiterated that some salient features of rural communal life are simulated by the support groups which abound in private organizations. Before bringing this chapter to a close, it is pertinent to recount the main points as well as the policy implications of this study.

A significant contribution of this thesis is the recognition of the crucial role of rural values in the determination of work attitudes in urban employment sectors. Whereas public organizational incentive schemes have consistently focused singularly on the individual worker as detached from his elaborate extended family network, I have attempted to portray the urban worker as only a plenipotentiary of his extended family network. The urban worker assesses his success or failure in relation to the well being of members of this elaborate family network in the closely-knit rural communitarian setting. His success or failure is intricately tied up with their own success or failure. Though separated by distance (as a result of migration), they traditionally remain in the same boat. Even in the face of adversity, they float or sink together. These rural network of consanguineous relatives are especially important because they influence what ultimately constitutes workers' needs in urban employment sectors. For example, an extended family member may be due for marriage and may not have the werewithal (in terms of finance,traditional gifts, etc.) to contract a traditional marriage. In such a situation family members traditionally made contributions in kind or cash.

if a kinsman was stranded in a distant land, extended family members contributed towards the repatriation of such a person. And when the issue surrounding an extended family member was of a more fascinating nature (e.g.,the opening of a new house, company, etc.)the celebration was equally collective. The young and old members of the extended family joined in the celebrations surrounding such ceremonies.

In the realm of rural work organization the urge to co-operate was even more profound. Describing the organization of work in a palm oil mill in a rural Nigerian village, Leis(1983:19),for example,vividly noted that:

> The men of the community joined in co-operative work groups for the most arduous phase of extraction . When one member of a group was ready, he cooked the berries and called the others to come to mash them with their feet to separate the pulp from the nut core in large communally owned troughs.

This co-operative spirit was and is still pervasive in all rural projects. The rural-urban migratory process, which is currently the dominant process in many emergent nations, brings the rural person into urban circumstances. For the new migrant the city is just a place to work. The urban setting is a mere change of geographical location without any urgent desire on the part of the migrant to alter his deeply entrenched rural values which contrast with the realities of urban circumstances (see Leonard, 1977; Imoagene,

1968). Thus, the migrant lives in the city without particularly identifying with its concomitant values of modernity. While in the city,the migrant is fundamentally governed by rural values which he had internalized over the years. These rural values,particularly the ones which relate to work organization, also constitute his orientation which ultimately influences his work attitudes in the objective conditions of urban employment. The unique role of rural orientation in the determination of work attitudes in the objective circumstances of urban employment explains why so much importance has been attached to this concept in this thesis. I have tried to show that it is imperative to understand workers' orientations if a comprehensive understanding of work attitudes is to be achieved. In the context of this study, such orientations stem from various cultural/religious institutions from which migrants generally learn their values.

Apart from the adverse effects on the organization of a lingering adjustment problem, the characteristics and modus operandi of public organizations are especially conducive to counter-productive forces such as ethnicity,religiousity, etc. Two individuals may come from the same ethnic group but the fact that they belong to different religious denominations may interfer with congenial interaction. The operation of the 'unpopular' quota system(equal ethnic representation) in public organizations has unexpectedly highlighted the catastrophic consequences(e.g.,the mass sacrifice of quality) of emphasizing ethnicity instead of capability. Emphasis on ethnicity in public organizations is now generally

regarded as a time bomb because of its currently evident disintegrative potential (e.g.,inter-ethnic distrust) in these places. Like the other aforementioned problems,the problem of inter-ethnic discord in public organizations is also generally ignored. Consistent with Eze(1978), It should be reiterated that workers in public organizational circumstances are suspicious of those from other ethnic groups. Eze(1978), for example, in his investigation of some of the aforementioned variables, concluded that ethnic group affiliation in Nigerian work situations bred ethnicity, mistrust, suspicion, preferential treatments,'god-fatherism' and inequity. Because of the pervasive ethnic factor in public employment circumstances, the new migrant first establishes a linkage with members of his ethnic group who are already accustomed to urban work (see Cohen ,1969; Peace, 1979). There is usually a strong bond between the migrant and this sub-cultural enclave in the urban setting. Public workers who have had a long stay in urban employment, endeavour to socialize the new migrant into the characteristic lifestyle of public employment. This socialization generally involves parochial lessons on the need for closer ties with those from one's ethnic group and to be skeptical of those from other groups. The new migrant feels a sense of home as a result of this sub-cultural enclave. These people speak the same language. They celebrate important ethnic and/or religious festivals just as they did in their rural societies. When a vacancy exists in a public organization,surreptitious tribal meetings are hurriedly held and an eligible or partially eligible candidate from one's own ethnic group is identified. If the prospective candidate

lives in a distant city, money is contributed to send a delegation to convince the candidate of the need to take up the job.Emphasis is usually placed on how his placement in the organization will duly rectify the ethnic imbalance that is continually perceived to be present in public organizations. It is like a zero sum game where the gain of a particular ethnic group automatically became the loss of another group.

While the debilitating game of ethnicity wreaks catastrophic consequences on public organizational climate, the effect of ethnicity in private organizations is relatively harmless and containable. The emphasis on the profit motive in private organizations and the prevalence of support groups in this sector facilitate workers' co-operation. Such co-operative efforts ultimately lead to the accomplishment of organizational goals.Little consideration is placed on ethnic factors in the employment of workers because of the simple logic that it is only the most qualified candidate that will enable the organization realise its objective(s) (see Omogbehin,1985). Similarly,emphasis is not placed on retrogressive political factors (e.g., the quota system) in the hiring of persons in the private sector. It is significant to note that the fact that Nigeria is made up of a multiplicity of ethnic groups totalling an inconclusive range of between 200-250 does not undermine the arguments advanced in this thesis. A further discussion of the importance attached to the extended familiy institution in Nigeria is necessary at this juncture.

Differences between and within ethnic groups exist, but emphasis on the extended family as the pivot of rural work organization is a common strand underlying these multifarious ethnic groups (see Grove, 1979;Isiche, 1983). Thus, it should be borne in mind that the diversity of ethnic and linguistic groupings has not, in any way, undermined the crucial role of the extended family network among rural and urban Nigerians. Even in the northern parts of the country where the Islamic religion has made profound incursions into indigenous lifestyles,the extended family network has showed remarkable resilience in the performance of its traditional functions. As Schwerdtfeger(1982:25), has rightly noted:

> In the areas where Islam has been introduced effectively only during the last 200 years, the extended family as an institution has so far resisted any major changes. The Islamic law of succession as applied at Zaria and sometimes at Ibadan has been modified to allow all persons in the direct line of descent a share in the personal property of a deceased person. Inherited property will revert to the extended family group and be re-allocated according to traditional custom and law.

Thus, despite the ubiquity of Islamic practices in the northern part of the country, the extended family institution has had a continuing influence on indigenous lifestyles. Among the Fulani, kinship and extended family ties and corresponding obligations are regularly discharged. The prevailing practice of marriages between cousins is one reason why these people maintain close ties with one another

(see Last, 1967). Thus, the supportive role of the extended family institution tends to be complemented by the generosity which is reminiscent of the Islamic religion. The argument that needs to be reiterated is that the co-operative characteristics of the extended family network, which serve as invaluable tools of rural work organization, are sufficiently internalized by the time the worker migrates to the city. These co-operative characteristics of rural work organization serve as referents for evluating incentive schemes in urban employment. The migrant who secures a public job is particularly disappointed because public organizational characteristics are dissimilar to rural organizational structures. The demand characteristics of public jobs are at variance with those of rural work organization which the worker has internalised. Similarly, the co-operative element of rural work organization is suppressed in the reality of public organizational circumstance. These workers are understandably confused as a result of this lingering adaptation problem. In these circumstances, they are no less than old wine in new bottles. This profound value conflict adversely influences their work attitudes. Furthermore, this lingering value conflict in the public sector is accountable for the pervasiveness of negative work attitudes in this sector.

By contrast, private organizations possess relatively flexible structures in the sense that these structures are especially accommodative of the orientations that workers bring from the larger environment. There is also a proliferation of support groups in this sector which specifically simulate the functions of the much revered

extended family institution. Thus, the flexibility of private organizational structures, coupled with the opportunities which workers have to employ personal initiative,tend to influence work attitudes in a positive direction. This is the reason why workers, here, are generally perceived to be positively disposed to their work. On a final note,it should be reiterated that these hypotheses were so derived because of the particular historical circumstances of Nigeria. The legacy of sectoral dualism that is continually reinforced by contemporary policies, the US and THEM syndrome and the characteristic rigidity of public organizations could only lead to the proliferation of negative work attitudes in the public sector. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that these same hypotheses may lead to spurious conclusions in a country with different historical circumstances.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Having extensively argued that Nigerian public organizations (especially the state bureaucracy) are structurally deficient, what can be done about them? I can agree with Smith (1976:36)that" bureaucracy covers a large number of organizational variables and cannot be accepted or rejected totally." However, the findings of this study suggest that the Nigerian bureaucracy is overdue for surgical intervention. The bureaucracy needs modification. Having been established in the colonial era, its structural features, particularly germane to the 'colonial mission',are unsuitable for

contemporary requirements(see Luke,1986).

The cost both human and material (see Schaffer,1969:191) of such a structural overhaul would be enormous but would be the first real step in the direction of inducing a sense of commitment in public workers. A good place to begin such a seemingly ambitious scheme might be to re-activate the rural sense of collective responsibility that is presently subdued under a bureaucratic emphasis on individualism. The core elements of workers' orientation (e.g., the use of personal initiative, etc.) should serve as the building blocks for the new organizational culture. This will pave way for a syncretic organizational structure similar to Japanese industries which, according to Ouchi and Price(1978),are sustained by organizational clans. As Jacques (1976:3) rightly noted:

> If bureaucracies are made more humane, their adverse effects upon those employed within them in factories, schools, and other institutions can be alleviated and strain removed from the families and communities to which those employees belong and in which they live.

The success of Japan is mainly attributed to her ability to incorporate societal values into the structure of Japanese organizations (see Abegglen,1984). There are major similarities beteen Nigerian and Japanese values. The Japanese have an abundance of closely knit cohesive groups. They attach importance to family ties and they also emphasize the importance of group effort in the discharge of work responsibilities. As Allen(1972:163) rightly

noted,"In every Japanese class, there was a capacity for co-operation and organized effort which was in part the product of a long experience of group action in the family, the clan and the guild."Similarly, Hirschmeir and Yui(1981:369) have indicated that "Japan is a society of social cohesion.It consists of many rather exclusive communities of which the family is the smallest and the most tightly knit unit."The Japanese have great respect for age and this tends to be reflected in their conditions of employment. According to Hirschmeir and Yui (1981:373),"within each company people are ranked according to formalistic criteria of age, schooling, and time of entry. But this inter-hierarchical ordering is combined with a high degree of social mobility." By contrast Nigerian values emphasize respect for age but it is not reflected in employment conditions. For example, Omogbehin's(1985) study of clerical workers in the southern part of Nigeria discovered that older (uneducated) men were dissatisfied with their jobs because younger (but educated) supervisors disregarded their ages when issuing orders to them. In the wider society, it is generally considered abominable to issue orders to those older than one .

Consistent with the main argument of this thesis, the lesson that can be drawn from the Japanese experience is to emphasize societal values in the structure of the Nigerian bureaucracy. Irrespective of ethnic affiliation, group effort in the discharge of public duties should be encouraged. As in the Mechanical Workshop, Yola, inter-orgnizational co-operation should be encouraged by building links between all public organizations in the country.

Similarly, age should be accorded its rightful place in the Government's condition of employment,although social mobility reflecting the level of one's performance should be encouraged. Workmates should be encouraged to exchage inter village visits (particularly during important festivals). This will, to some extent, help remove some of the sterotypes that presently exists among Nigerian ethnic groups. These suggested visits will also encourage inter-ethnic trust in public organizations. Such a structural overhaul will facilitate worker identification with organizational objective(s) and ultimately enhance positive work attitudes. Government is quite cognizant of the co-opertive nature of indigenous work and has encouraged craftsmen to come together and set up co-operative workshops in such crafts as carving(Benin); pottery(Ado-Ekiti and Abuja); weaving (Iseyin and Okene); calabash (Oyo);leather (Kano and Kaduna);dyeing(Ilorin and Abeokuta);ceramics (Ikorodu). As Fasuyi(1973:53) rightly indicated, these various workshops obtain subventions from the Ministry of Trade and Industry but are not directly controlled by the governement. The argument that is here made is that this form of co-operative effort in the discharge of work (such as obtains in the craft industries) should be extended to the Nigerian bureaucracy.

Plausible as these informed suggestions seem, the Nigerian government is reputedly impermeable to suggestions.As Akeredolu-Ale(1982:31), noted"it is still difficult to advocate any fundamental innovation in strategy and expect to be taken seriously by policy makers in Nigeria." Nonetheless, it is hoped that this

study will represent a major watershed in Nigerian organizational research.

APPENDIX 1

1. Sex (a) Male
(b) Female

2. What was your age last birthday?----------

3 Marital Status (a)Married
(b)Single
(c)Divorced/Seperated/Widowed

4. Do you have children (a) Yes
(b) No

5. If Yes to 4 above,how many children do you have?-----

6. How many years of formal schooling have you had------

7. What is your present educational qualification-------

8. What is your status in your present job--------

9. How many years have you worked in your present job
(a) Less than 3 years
(b) Above 4 but under 7years
(c) Over 7 years

10. What is your approximate income before taxes
(a) Less than N2,000
(b) N2,000-N4,999
(c) N5,000-N7,999
(d) N8,000-N11,999

SCORE THE FOLLOWING ITEMS ON HOW THEY MOTIVATE YOU IN THE WORKPLACE

	A	B	C	D
	VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	NEUTRAL	NOT IMPORTANT

11.a My Pay

b. Job security

c. Job satisfaction

d. The prestige of my job

12. Do you see your job as having fulfilled the expectations you had about such jobs prior to your employment ?
    (a) Yes
    (b) No

13 How does this feeling affect your commitment to the work.
    (a) a feeling that makes you want to work harder
    (b) indifference to your work
    (c) a feeling of disinterest in the work
    (d) downright frustration with the work

14. How would you describe your feeeling towards your work.
    (a) Enthusiastic about it
    (b) Indifferent to it
    (c) Dislike it
    (d) Don't Know

15. How often are you satisfied with this job
    (a) all the time
    (b) a good deal of the time
    (c) Occasionally

(d) Practically never

16. If you were to do it all over again would still choose this same work?
    (a) Yes
    (b) No

17. Would you recommend this job to a friend?
    (a) Yes
    (b) No

18. If you were to start afresh you mean you will choose the job you are doing at the moment?
    (a) Yes
    (b) No

PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER YOU STRONGLY AGREE,AGREE,UNDECIDED,DISAGREE OR STRONGLY DISAGREE BESIDE EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

19. My job has not satisfied my personal/familial needs.

20. The money from my job is enough to meet the needs of my extended family members.

21. My job is boring.

22. My job does not give me enough freedom to use my initiative in doing things.

23. I feel that my job does not have much to be proud of

24. When I think back on my life I feel that my job has not provided me some of the most important things I expected from the job.

25. If workers are rewarded according to their performance worker motivation would be enhanced.

26. Workers can afford to be non-chalant because there is no standard yardstick for evaluating a worker's performance at the end of the year

27. My work is very important to the survival of this organization.

28 Every worker is encouraged to participate in the decision-decision process in this organization.

29. Workers should blame themselves rather than the organization for any shortcoming intheir level of personal acievement.

30. There are many opportunities (for personal achievement) in this organization.

31. This organization does things to

enhance the welfare of workers.

32. In what sector of the Nigerian economy would you place your organization.
    (a) Private sector
    (b) Public sector

33. What is the name of your organization ?

APPENDIX 2

COMPUTER PROGRAMME

```
TITLE  ATTITUDINAL SURVEY OF SELECTED NIGERIAN WORKERS
DATA LIST FILE=DATA
/SEX 5 AGE 6 MARISTAT 7 HAVCHILD 8 NUBCHILD
9 YEASCHOL 10 QUALIF 11 JBSTATUS 12 EMPLOYLT
13 INCOME 14 PAYPACK 15 SECURITY 16 SATISFAC
17 PRESTIGE 18 FUFIMENT 19 IMPAFEL 20 PRESNFEL
21 TIMESATI 22 AGANCHOS 23 RECOMFRE 24 AGANCHO
25 NTSATNED 26 MONOUGH 27 BORING 28 FREEDOM
29 NTPRDJOB 30 JBNTPROV 31 REPEPROD 32 YARDVALU
33 WORKPORT 34 PATDECIS 35 BLAMESEF 36 OPPORTUN
37 CONSWELF 38 EMPLACE 39 NAMEPLOY 40

VARIABLE LABELS  SEX 'SEX OF RESPONDENT'
AGE 'AGE OF RESPONDENT'
MARISTAT 'MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENT'
HAVCHILD 'WHETHER RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN'
NUBCHILD 'NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF RESPONDENT'
YEASCHOL 'NUMBER OF YEARS A RESPONDENT SCHOOLED'
QUALIF 'QUALIFICATION OF RESPONDENT'
JBSTATUS 'STATUS OF RESPONDENT ON THE JOB'
EMPLOYLT 'LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT ON THE JOB'
INCOME 'INCOME OF RESPONDENT'
PAYPACK 'HOW RESPONDENT VALUES THE PAY'
SECURITY 'HOW RESPONDENT VALUES JOB SECURITY'
SATISFAC 'HOW RESPONDENT RATES JOB SATISFACTION'
PRESTIGE 'HOW RESPONDENT RATES JOB PRESTIGE'
FUFIMENT 'WHETHER JOB HAS FULFILLED RESPONDENT DREAM'
IMPAFEL 'RATING OF RESPONDENT COMMITMENT TO THE JOB'
PRESNFEL 'RESPONDENT  PRESENT FELING TOWARDS  JOB'
TIMESATI 'NIMBER OF TIMES SATISFIED WITH THE JOB'
AGANCHOS 'WILL RESPONDENT CHOOSE SAME JOB AGAIN'
RECOMFRE 'WILL RESPONDENT RECOMMEND THE JOB TO A FRIEND'
```

```
AGANCHO 'WILL RESPONDENT CHOOSE SAME JOB AGAIN'
NTSATNED 'JOB DOES NOT SATISFY PERSONAL AND FAMILY NEEDS'
MONOUGH 'MONEY FROM JOB INADEQUATE TO MEET NEEDS'
BORING 'JOB IS BORING'
FREEDOM 'FREEDOM FOR INITIATIVE IS CURTAILED IN JOB'
NTPRDJOB'JOB POSSESSES NOTHING OF PRIDE'
JBNTPROV 'JOB DOES NOT PROVIDE MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD'
REPEPROD 'REWARD BASED ON PERFORMANCE WILL ENHANCE JOB'
YARDVALU 'NO YARDSTICK FOR WORKER EVALUATION'
WORKPORT 'MY WORK IS IMPORTANT TO THIS ORGANIZATIN'
PATDECIS 'WORKERS TAKE PART IN DECISION-MAKING'
BLAMESEF 'BLAME WORKERS FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL'
OPPORTUN 'OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND IN THIS ORGANIZATION'
CONSWELF 'WORKERS WELFARE IS PRIORITY IN THIS ORGANIZATION'
EMPLACE 'PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT'
NAMEPLOY 'NAME OF EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION'

VALUE LABELS SEX 1 'MALE' 2 'FEMALE /AGE 1 '16-24' 2 '25-34' 3 '35-
44' 4 '45-54' 5 '55-64' 6 '65 AND ABOVE'/ MARISTAT 1 'MARRIED' 2
'SINGLE' 3 'DIVORCED OR SEPERATED'/ HAVCHILD 1 'YES' 2 'NO'/NUBCHILD
0 'NONE' 1 '1-3' 2 '4-6' 3 '7 AND ABOVE' /YEASCHOL 0 'NONE' 1 '1-6'
2 '7-12' 3 '13-16' 4 '17 AND ABOVE'/QUALIF 0 'NONE' 1 'PRIMARY OR
MODERN SCHOOL' 2 'WASC' 3 'TECHNICAL DIPLOMA' 4 'HND OR BSC OR MBBS'
5 'MS' 6 'PHD' /JBSTATUS 1 'SENIOR' 2 'JUNIOR'/ EMPOYLT 1 '3 YEARS
AND BELOW' 2 '4 -7YEARS' 3 '8 YEARS AND ABOVE'/ INCOME 1 'LESS THAN
N2000' 2 'N2000-N4999' 3 'N5000-N7999'4 'N8000-N11999'5 'N12000 AND
ABOVE'/ PAYPACK 1 'VERY IMPORTANT' 2 'IMPORTANT' 3 'NEUTRAL' 4 'NOT
IMPORTANT'/ SATISFAC 1 'VERY IMPORTANT' 2 'IMPORTANT' 3 'NEUTRAL' 4
'NOT IMPORTANT'/ PRESTIGE 1 'VERY IMPORTANT' 2 'IMPORTANT' 3
'NEUTRAL' 4 'NOT IMPORTANT/ FUFIMENT 1 'YES' 2 'NO'/IMPAFEL 1 'WORK
HARDER' 2 'INDIFFERENT TO WORK' 3 'DISINTEREST IN THE JOB' 4
'FRUSTRATION WITH THE JOB'/PRENFEL 1 'ENTHUSIASM  FOR WORK' 2
'INDIFFERENCE TO WORK'3 'DISLIKE WORK' 4 'DONT KNOW'/TIMESATI 1 'ALL
THE TIME' 2 'A GOOD DEAL OF THE TIME'3 'HALF THE TIME' 4
'OCCASIONALLY' 5 'PRACTICALLY NEVER'/AGANCHOS 1 'YES' 2
'NO'/RECOMFRE 1 'YES' 2 'NO'/AGANCHO 1 'YES' 2 'NO'/NTSATNED 1
```

```
'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY
DISAGREE'/MONOUGH 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4
'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/BORING 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE'
3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/FREEDOM 1 'STRONGLY
AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY
DISAGREE'/NTPRDJOB 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4
'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/JBNTPROV 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2
'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/ REPEPROD 1
'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY
DISAGREE'/YARDVALU 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4
'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/WORKPORT 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2
'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/PATDECIS 1
'STRONGLY AGREE'2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY
DISAGREE'/BLAMESEF 1 'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4
'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/OPPORTUN 1 'STRONGLY AGREE 2
'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY DISAGREE'/CONSWELF 1
'STRONGLY AGREE' 2 'AGREE' 3 'UNDECIDED' 4 'DISAGREE' 5 'STRONGLY
DISAGREE'/EMPLACE 1 'PRIVATE ESTABLISHMENT'2 'PUBLIC
ESTABLISHMENT'/NAMEPLOY 1 'NEIL' 2 'FARO' 3 'MECH WORKSHOP' 4
'UNIVERSITY' 5 'MINISTRY' 6 'STEEL'/
MISSING VALUES SEX TO EMPLOYLT (9) INCOME TO NAMEPLOY (99) CROSSTABS
NAMEPLOY BY NTSATNED
OPTIONS  4
STATISTICS 1
FINISH
++++

PROGRAMME FOR T TEST
T-TEST GROUPS=EMPLACE (2)/VARIABLES=INCOME TO CONSWELF
FINISH
++++
PROGRAMME FOR ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE AND ORTHOGONAL CONTRAST
ONEWAY NTSATNED BY NAMEPLOY (1,6)/
 CONTRAST = -1-1-1 1 1 1/
FINISH
++++
```

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abegglen,J.C.(1984), The Strategy of Japanese Business.Cambridge, Mass.:Ballinger Press .

Abdulkadir,D. and Liman,,M.T.A(1977),"The Judiciary, Civil Service,Police and Armed Forces."pp.225-233 in Kumo, S. and Aliyu, A.Y.(eds.), Issues in the Nigerian Draft Constitution. ABU Zaria: Institute of Administration.

Abduraheem,T. and Olukoshi A.(1985),"The left in Nigerian Politics and the Striuggle for Socialism:1945-1985. Review of African Political Economy (hereafter) ROAPE,No.34.December.

Aboyade, O.(1980), "Nigerian Public Enterprises as an Organizational Dilemma." pp.83-97 in Collins,P.(ed.) Administration for Development in Nigeria. Lagos: African Education Press.

Adebayo, A. (1981), Principles and Practice of Public Administration in Nigeria.New York: Wiley and Sons.

Adedeji, A. (1981), An address titled "The Political Class,the higher Civil Service and the challenge of Nation-building."at a seminar held in Badagri 4-7 March 1981 published in West Africa Magazine,March 30,1981,cited in Akpan(1982)Public Administration in Nigeria p.179.

Adeleye, R. A.(1976),"Hausaland and Borno,1600-1800."pp. 556-601 in Ajayi,J.F.A.and Cowder, M.(eds.),History of West Africa.Vol.1 London:Longmans.

Adeleye, R.A.(1971) Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906. London:Longmans.

Ademakinwa, J.A.(1953),Ife:Cradle of the Yoruba. Lagos:C.M.S.Bookshop

Ademolekun,L.(1978b),"Postcript: notes on developments in Nigerian Administration."pp 310-327 in Murray, D.J. (ed.),Studies in Nigerian Administration . London:Longmans.

Ademolekun,L.(1986),Poltics and Administration in Nigeria . London:Hutchinson.

Adepoju, A.(1974), "Rural-urban Socio-economic Links:The example of migrants in South-West Nigeria."pp.126-136 in Amin,S.(ed.)Modern migrations in West Africa. London: Oxford University Press.

Adepoju, A.(1983),"Patterns of migration by sex."pp 54-66 in Oppong,C.(ed.),Female and Male in West Africa London:Allen and Unwin.

Adorno, T.W.,Frenkel-Brunswik, E.,Levinson, D.J.,and Sanford, R.N. (1950) The Authoritarian Personality. New York:Harper.

African Research Group[A.R.G.](1970),The other side of the Nigerian Civil War,Mass.:Cambridge University Press.

Ahwireng-Obeng, F.(1984),"Omissions and contradictions in an African co-operative experiment:The case of Nigeria."Public Administration and Development, Vol.4 pp.373-379.

Aina,O.(1982),Bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria:Continuing search for the causes and consequences."International Review of Administrative Sciences,48,pp.70-76.

Ajayi,J.F.A.(1969),"Colonialism: an Episode in African History."in Gann,L.H.and Duignan,P.(eds.),Colonialism in Africa.Cambridge:University Press

Ajuogu, M.(1982),"Management factors and their implications on the national economy:The case of public enterprise.A paper presented to the Nigerian Political Science Association.Jos, July, 13.

Akeredolu-Ale, E.O.(1975),The underdevelopment of indigenous Entrepreneurship in Nigeria.Ibadan:University Press.

Akeredolu-Ale, E.O. (1982) "Some thoughts on the Human factor in Nigeria's Underdevelopment."The Nigerian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology 8:20-33.

Akinjogbin,I.A.(1976),"The expansion of Oyo and the rise of Dahomey."pp 373-412 in Ajayi, J.F.A.and Crowder, M.(eds), History of West Africa. London:Longmans.

Akpan, N.U. (1982) Public Administration in Nigeria.Ibadan: Longmans Ltd.

Akpofure, R. and Crowder, M.(1966),Nigeria.London:Faber and Faber.

Alassam, M.(1982), "Regional governments in the Sudan." Public Administration and Development, Vol.3, pp.111-120

Albrow, M. (1970), Bureaucracy.London:Macmillan.

Aldous, J. (1965), "Urbanization,the extended Family and Kinship ties in West Africa".Pp.107116 in Pierre Van dan Barghe (ed.)Africa:Social Problems of change and Conflict.San-Francisco:Chandler Press.

Aldrich, H.E. (1979),Organizations and Environments.Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:Prentice Hall,Inc.

Alkali, H.(1967),"A note on Arabic teaching in Northern Nigeria." Kano Studies, No. 3, p.11.

Allen,G.C. (1972), A Short Economic History of Modern Japan. London:Allen and Unwin.

Allport,G.W. (1935), Attitudes.in Murchinson, C. (ed.) A Handbook of Social Psychology.Worcester Mass.: Clark University Press.

Allport, G.W. (1973),Personality:A Psychological Interpretation. New York: Holt.

Aloba, A.(1954),"Tribal unions in Party Politics. West Africa Magazine,July.

Amin, S.(1972),"Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms. Journal of Modern African Studies,Vol.10,No.4, pp.303-324.

Amin, S.(1974),"Introduction." in Modern migrations in West Africa. London:Oxford University Press.

Anderson, T.W. and Sclove,S.L. (1974),An introductory Statistical Analysis. Boston:Houghton Mifflin Company.

Anise, L.(1980),"Decentralization: An alternative approach to governmental cost containment and income redistribution policy in Nigeria." African Studies Review,No.XXIII Sept.,pp.17-37.

Argyris,C. (1959) "Understanding Human Behaviour in Organizations." in Haire,M.Modern Organization Theory.New York:Wiley

Arrighi,G.(1970), "International Corporations,Labour Aristocracies and Economic Development in Tropical Africa." in Rhodes,R.(ed.),Imperialism and Underdevelopment.London:Monthly Review Press.

Arrighi,G. and Saul,J.S.(1968),"Socialism and Economic Developments in Tropical Africa." Journal of Modern African Studies,Vol,1,No.2,August.

Arnold, G.(1977), Modern Nigeria.London:Longmans Group Ltd.

Awolowo, O.(1981), Voice of Wisdom.Akure-Nigeria: Fagbamigbe Publishers Nigeria Ltd.

Ayandele, E.A.(1966),The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria: 1842-1914. London:Longmans.

Baker,P.H. (1974), Urbanization and Political Change.The Politics of Lagos 1917-1967.Berkeley:University of California Press.

Balogun, M.J. (1983),Public Administration in Nigeria:A Development Approach.London:The Mcmillan Press Ltd.

Barbour,K.M.(1971), "North Eastern Nigeria:A case study of State Formation."Jouranl of Modern African Studies 9,1,pp.49-71.

Bascom,W.R.(1965), "Some aspects of Yoruba urbanism in van den Berghe,P.L.(ed.),Social problems of Change and Conflict. San Francisco California: Chandler Publishing Co.

Bascom, W.R.(1962),"The problem of Stability and Change in African Culture." pp.1-14 in Herskovits,M.J. and Bascom, W.R. (eds.) Continuity and Change African Cultures.Chicago:University Press.

Basden,G.T. (1966), Niger Ibos.London:Frank Cass

Beach, D.S. (1981), Personnel.The Management of People at Work.4th Edition. New York:Macmillan.

Beer, C.E.F.(1975),The Politics of peasant groups in Western Nigeria.Ibadan:University Press.

Beer, C.E.F. and William, G.(1975), "The politics of Ibadan peasantry."African Review,No.5.

Bendix,R. (1956) Work and Authority in Industry.New York:Wiley.

Bennet, V.P.and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M.(1978),"Back to the barracks: a decade of marking time."pp.13-26 in Panter Brik, K.(ed.),Soldiers and Oil:The Political transformation of Nigeria.London:Frank Cass.

Berg,E.(1966), "Major Issues of Wage Policy in Africa," in Ross A.M.(ed), Industrial Relations and Economic Development.London:Macmillan.

Berg,E.(1981) World Bank Report.Accelerated Development in sub-Saharan Africa. Washington D.C.

Biobaku,S.O.(1955),The origin of the Yoruba.Lagos:Federal Ministry of Information.

Blau,P.M. (1970) "A formal Theory of differentiation in Organization." American Sociological Review 35:201-18.

Blauner, R. (1964), Alienation and Freedom:The Factory Worker and his Industry.Chicago:University Press.

Blood,M.R. and Hulin,C.L.(1967),"Alienation,Environmental characteristics and Worker responses.Journal of Applied Psychology 51:284-290.

Bohanna,P. and Bohanna,L.(1968) Tiv Economy.London:longmans.

Bradbury,R.E.(1957), The Benin Kingdom and the Edo speaking peoples of Southwestern Nigeria.London:International African Institute.

Breton,A. and Wintrobe, R.(1982),The Logic of Bureaucratic Conduct. Cambridge:University Press.

Browne,R.S. and Cummings,R.J.(1984),The Lagos Plan of Action vs The Berg Report.Contemporary isues in African Economic Development.Washington,D.C.:Howard University Press.

Burns,T. and Stalker,G.M.(1961),The Management of Innovation. London: Tavistock.

Burns, A.(1972), A History of Nigeria.London:Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Caldwell,J.C.(1968),"Determinants of rural-urban migration in Ghana."Population Studies, 22,pp.361-377.

Caldwell,J.C.(1976),"Towards a Restatement of Demographic Transition Theory."Population and Development Review,2,Nos.3 and 4,Sept./December.

Callaway, B.(1975), "The Political Economy of Nigeria." in Harris, R.(ed.),Economy of Africa. London:Wiley .

Campbell, D.T.(1963),"Social Attitudes and other acquired Behavioural Dispositions."pp.94-172 in Koch,S.(ed.) Psychology: A study of a Science. Vol.6,New York:McGraw Hill.

Campbell, I.(1978),"Army reorganization and military withdrawal." pp.58-100 in Panter Brick,K.(ed.), Soldiers and Oil:The Political transformation of Nigeria. London:Frank Cass.

Carey,A. (1967), The Hawthorne Studies: A radical criticism. American Sociological Review 32:403-16.

Cheema,G.S. and Rondinelli, D.(1983),Decentralization and Development.Policy Implications in Developing Countries.Beverly Hills:Sage Publications.

Chegwe,A.O.(1977),Education and Rural-Urban Mobility in the Lower Niger.A case study.Unpublished Msc Thesis,(CWAS) University of Birmingham

Child, J. (1972b),"Organizational structure and Strategies of Control: A replication of Aston study.

"Administrative Science Quaterly 17(2):163-177

Chukwu, E. (1983), "Towards the Twenty-First Century."A paper read at the Foundation ceremony of the Federal University of Technology,Yola Nigeria (July 16,1983).

Church,H.R.J.(1980),West Africa London:Longmans.

Chuta,E.(1983),"Upgrading the Managerial process of small entrepreneurs in West Africa. Public Administration and Development,Vol.3, pp.275-283.

Clough,P.(1985), " Grain Marketing in Northern Nigeria."ROAPE, No. 32,pp.25-37.

Cloward,R.S. and Ohlin,L.E. (1960),Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Changes.New York: The Free Press.

Cohen,A.(1969),Custom and Politics in Urban Africa.London:Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cohen, A.(1971)," Cultural strategies in organization of trading diasporas."in Meillassoux,C.(ed.),The Development of Indigenous trade and Markets in West Africa. London:Oxford University Press.

Cohen,A. (1974).(ed.) Urban Ethnicity. London:Tavistock.

Cohen ,R.(1974),Labour and Politics in Nigeria.London: Heinemann.

Cohen, R.(1976),"From Peasants to Workers in Africa."pp 155-168 in Gutkind,P.C.W. and Wallerstein,I.(eds.), The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa.

London:Sage Publications.

Cohen, R.(1980),"Resistance and Hidden Forms of Consciousness among African Workers.ROAPE, No.19,pp.8-22,Sept./Dec.

Coleman, J.S.(1958), Nigeria:Background to Nationalism.Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Collis,R. (1970), Nigeria in Conflict.London:Secker and Warburg.

Comhaire-Sylvain,S.(1950),"Association on the basis of origin in Lagos, Nigeria.American Catholic Sociological Review,Vol.11.

Conyers, D.(1981),"Decentralization for regional development: Comparative study of Tanzania, Zambia and Papua New Guinea."Public Administration and Development,1,pp.107-120.

Conyers, D.(1983),"Decentralization.The latest fashion in Development Administration," ? Public Administration and Development,3.p.97-109.

Cook,S.W. and Selltiz,C.A.(1964),"A multiple-factor approach to Attitude measurement." Psychological Bulletin 62:36-55.

Copans, J.(1985),"The Marxist conception of class:Political and Theoretical elaboration in the African and Africanist context."ROAPE,No.32, April.

Cronkhite,G. (1969), Speech and Behavioural Change.New York: Bobbs-Merril.

Crowder, M.(1973), The Story of Nigeria.London:Faber and Faber.

Crozier,M. (1964), The Bureaucratic Phenomenon.London: Tavistock.

Davidson, B.(1978),Africa in Modern History:The search for a New Society.London:Penguin Books Ltd.

David-West,T.(1986),"Nigerian public Workers." Daily Times July 26.

Davies,L.O.and Goldsmith,L.P. (1972) Statistical Methods in Research and Production. Tweddale Court,Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Publishers.

Dawood,N.J.(1959),Translation of the Koran. Harmondsworth: Penguins

Dennis, C.(1983),"Capitalist Development and Women's Work:A Nigerian case study ."ROAPE.Nos.27/28,pp.109-119

Dent,M.J.(1978),"Corrective Government:Military rule in perspective."pp.101-137 in Panter Bricks,K.(ed.), Soldiers and Oil:The Political transformation of Nigeria.London:Frank Cass.

Diamond,M.A. (1984),"Bureaucracy as Externalised Self-system:A view from the Psychological Interior." Administration and Society 16(2) August.

Dibble,V.K. (1965), "Traditional Authority in English County Government, 1558-1640."in March,G.J.(ed.) Handbook of Organization. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Di Domenico,C.(1973),Nigerian Industrial Recruits:A study of new Workers at the Nigerian Tobacco Company Factory.Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis,University of Ibadan.

Di Domenico,C.(1983),"Male and Female Factory Workers in Ibadan. pp.256-265 in Oppong,C.(ed.),Female and Male in West Africa.London:Allen and Unwin.

Dike,K.O.(1956),Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta,1830-1885. Oxford:Clarendon Press.

Doi,A.R.I.(1970),Introduction to the Hadith. Lagos:Islamic Publications Bureau.

Edwards,A.L. (1957), Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction. New York: Appleton Century Crofts.

Egharevba,J.U.(1960),A Short History of Benin.Ibadan:University Press

Ekeh, P.P.(1975),"Colonialism and the two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement."Comparative Studies in Society and History,Vol.7,No.1,pp.91-112.

Ekekwe,E.N.(1987)[forthcoming],State and Class in Nigeria. London:Longmans.

Etzioni,A. (1964), Modern Organizations.Englewood Cliffs.NJ.: Prentice Hall.

Eze,N. (1978), "Ethnic-group Affiliation and Work Motivation in Third World Nations."Pp 8-23 Management in Nigeria vol.14.

Eze,O.C. (1981) "The New Labour Reform." in Oyediran,O.(ed.) Survey of Nigerian Affairs 1976-1977.Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and Macmillan Nigerian Publishers.

Eze,N. (1983) "Work Motivation,Job Satisfaction and Job-Involvement in Nigerian Industries and Organizations."A keynote lecture delivered at the First National conference of the Association of Nigerian Industrial and Organizational Psychologists at the University of Lagos,Nigeria.May 18-20.

Fafunwa, B.A.(1974), History of Education in Nigeria. London:Allen and Unwin.

Fage,J.D.(1962),Introduction to the History of West Africa. London:Cambridge University Press.

Fapohunda,E.R.(1978),"Women at Work in Nigeria:Factors Affecting Modern Sector Employment."pp.220-241 in Damachi,U.G. and Diejomaoh,V.P.(eds.),Human Resources and African Development.New York: Praeger Publishers.

Fashoyin,T. (1980),Industrial Relations in Nigeria.London: Longmans.

Fasuyi,T.A.(1973), Cultural Policy in Nigeria.Paris:UNESCO.

Fayol,H. (1948), Administrative Industrielle et generale. Paris: Dunods(first published in 1916).

Feather,N.T. and Simon,J.G. (1971a), "Attribution of responsibility and valence of outcome in relation to initial confidence of success and failure of self and

others. "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 18:173-188.

Fere,C. (1890), Note sur la physiologie de l'attention. Rev.Phil., 30:393-405.

Festinger,L.,Back,K.,Schachter,S.,Kelley,H.H. and Thibaut,J.(1950), Theory and Experiments in Social Communications.Ann Abor,Michigan: University of Michigan,Institute of Social Research.

Findley,S.E.(1982), "Determinants of internal Migration."pp.344-350 in Ross,E.(ed.), International Encyclopedia of Population,Vol.1,New York:The Free Press.

Fishbein,M.and Ajzen,I.(1975),Beliefs,Attitudes, Intentions and Behaviour:An Introduction to Theory and Research. London:Addison Wesley Publishing Company.

Fishbein,M.(1963), "An investigation of the relationship between Beliefs about an object and the Attitude toward the object." Human Relations 16:233-240.

Flint, J.E.(1966),Nigeria and Ghana.Englewood Cliffs,Prentice Hall

Forde,D. (1962), The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria. London:International African Institute.

Forde,D. and Jones,G.I.(1950),The Ibo and Ibibio speaking peoples of Southeastern Nigeria.London:International African Institute.

Forest, T.(1986),"The Political Economy of Civil Rule and the Economic crisis in Nigeria,1979-84."ROAPE,No.35 May.

Fox,A. (1974), Beyond Contract:Work,Power and Trust Relations. London: Faber and Faber.

Frank, A.G.(1970),"The Development of Underdevelopment."pp.4-17 in Rhodes,R.I.(ed.),Imperialism and Underdevelopment.London:Monthly Review Press.

Frank, C.Jr.(1971),"Private and Public enterprises in Africa." pp.88-125 in Ranis,G.(ed.),Government and Economic Development.New Haven:Yale University Press.

Gaillie,D. (1978), In search of the New Working Class.Cambridge: University Press.

Goldthorpe,J.H.,Lockwood,D.,Bechofer,F.,and Platt,J.(1968),The Affluent Worker:Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour. Cambridge:University Press.

Gouldner,A.W.(1964), Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy.New York: Free Press.

Green,M.(1964), Igbo Village Affairs.London: Longmans.

Grove, A.T.(1979), Africa.Oxford:University Press.

Guest,D. and Fatchet,D.(1974),Work Participation:Individual Control and Performance.Letchworth,Hertfordshire: The Garden City Press Ltd.

Gulick,L.H. (1937), "Notes on the Theory of Organization." in Gulick,L. and Urwick,L.(eds.)Papers on the

Science of Administration.
Columbia University Press.

Gutkind,P.C.(1975), "The view from below:political consciousness of the urban poor in Ibadan." Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines,57,pp.5-36.

Harris,J.R.(1968), "Nigerian Enterprise in the Printing Industry." Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies,X,2 July.

Harris,J.R. and Rowe,M.P.(1966),"Entrepreneurial Pattern in the Nigerian Saw Milling Industry."Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies,VIII, 1,March.

Harris,T.H. (1912), Domestic Slavery in Southern Nigeria. London: HMSO(1912).

Hatch,J. (1971), Nigeria:A History.London:Longmans.

Heider,F. (1958), The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. NewYork:Wiley.

Herzberg,F.,Mausner,B.,Snyderman,B. and Barbara,E.(1959) The Motivation to Work.New York:Wiley.

Herzberg,F.(1966), Work and the nature of man.Cleveland: World Publishing Company.

Hill,P.(1969), "Hidden Trade in Hausaland," Man, 4,pp.392-409.

Hill, P.(1972), Rural Hausa.London:Cambridge University Press.

Hill,P.(1977), Population,Prosperity and Poverty:Rural Kano, 1900-1970.London:Cambridge University Press.

Hinchliffe, K.(1974),"Labour Aristocracy. A Northern Nigerian case study.Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.12, No.1, March.

Hirschmeier,J and Yui,T.(1981),A short History of Modern Japan,1600 -1980.London: Allen and Unwin.

Hofstede,G. and Kranenburg,R.Y. (1974),"Work goals of migrant Workers. Human Relations No.27.

Hogben,S.J. (1930) The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria.London: Oxford University Press.

Hodgkin,T.(1956),"The African Middle Class."Corona,8,pp.85-88.

Hovland,C.,Lumsdaine,A., and Sheffield,F. (1949),Experiments on Mass Communication.Princeton:Princeton University Press.

Hovland,C.I.,Janis,J.L., and Kelley,H.H. (1953),Communication and Persuasion.Yale:University Press.

Hraba, J. and Siegman, J.(1974),"Black Consciousness." Youth and Society,Vol.6, No.1, pp.63-90.

Hughes, A.and Cohen,R.(1978),"An Emerging Nigerian Working Class. The Lagos experience,1897-1939 in Gutkind, P.C.,Cohen,R and Copans,J.(eds.),An African Labour History. London:Longmans

Hummel,R. (1977), The Bureaucratic Experience. New York:St.Martins Press.

Hyman,H.H. (1949), "Interview effects in the classification of responses." Public Opinion Quaterly 13:669-682.

Ibodje,S.W.E.(1984),Central Government and Local Authorities in Bendel State,Nigeria:A case study of central influence on the autonomy of local Governments, 1976-1982.Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis,University of Manchester.

Ifemesia,C. (1979), Traditional Human Living among the Igbo:An Historical Perspective.Enugu:Fourth Dimension Publishing Co.Ltd.

Imoagene,S.O. (1968),"Urban Involvement and Rural Detachment." Journal of Economics and Social Studies 10:397-411.

Ingham,G.H. (1970) Size of Industrial Organization and Worker Behaviour. Cambridge:University Press.

Insko,C.A. and Schopler,J. (1967),"Triadic Consistency: A statement of affective-cognitive connative consistency. Psychological Review 74:361-376.

Isa, A.(1971), Traditional Education in Nigeria.Unpublished B.A.Thesis,Faculty of Education,University of Ife,Nigeria.

Isichei, E.(1983), A History of Nigeria.London: Longmans.

Jackson, S.(1978),"Hausa Women on Strike."ROAPE,No.13,pp.21-36,May

Jacques,E. (1976), A General Theory of Bureaucracy. London:Heinemann.

Jahoda,M. and Warren,N.(1973), Attitudes.London:Penguin Modern Psychology.

Jike, V.T.(1978), Tradition and Modernity as Polarities in the Changing Status of the African Woman.Unpublished B.Sc.,Thesis,University of Ibadan,Nigeria

Jike, V.T.(1982), Socio-Cultural Factors which may account for variability in the levels of Motivation of the Nigerian Industrial Worker.Unpublished M.Sc Thesis,Iowa State University,Ames IA.

Johnson,S.(1921), History of the Yoruba.Lagos:C.M.S.Bookshop.

Jones,E.E.,Rock,L.,Shaver,K.G.,Goethals,G.R. and Ward,L.M.(1968), "Pattern of Performance and Ability Attribution:An unexpected Primacy effect. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 10:317-340.

Jones,E.E. and Nisbet,R.E .(1971),The actor and the Observer: Observer:Divergent Perceptions of the causes of Behaviour.New York: General Learning Press.

Kaplan,K.G. and Fishbein,M. (1969),"The source of Beliefs,their saliency and prediction of Attitude. Journal of Social Psychology. 78:66-74.

Katzin,M.(1964), "The Role of the small entrepreneur." in Herskovits,M.J. and Harowitz,M.(eds.),Economic Transition in Africa.London:Longmans.

Kelley,H.H. (1967), "Attribution Theory in Social Psychology."in Levine, D (ed.),Nebraska Symposium on Motivation.Lincol.University of Nebraska Press.

Kelley, H.H. (1973),"The processes of causal Attribution. American Psychologist 28:107-128.

Kempner,T.,Tillet,A. and Wills,G. (1970), Management Thinkers. London:Penguin Books.

Kilby,P. (1969), Industrialization in an open Economy: Nigeria 1945-1966.Cambridge:University Press.

King,K. (1977), The African Artisan.London:Heinemann.

Kirk-Greene,A. and Rimmer,D. (1981), Nigeria since 1970:A Political and Economic Outline. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Klein, L. (1976), A Social Scientist in Industry.London: Gower Press.

Kleinbaum,D.G.and Kupper,L.L.(1978), Applied Regression Analysis and other Multivariable Methods.North Scituate, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press.

Kluckhonn,C. (1951),"Values and value orientations in the Theory of Action."in Parsons,T. and Shils,E.(eds) Toward a General Theory of Action.Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Koehn,P.(1983), "The role of Public administrators in public policy making:Practice and prospects in Nigeria."Public Administration and Development,Vol.3,pp.1-26,Sept.

Krech,D. and Crutchfiel,R.S.(1948),Theory and Problems in Social Psychology. New York:McGraw Hill

Kutner,B.C. and Yarrow,P.R.(1952),"Verbal Attitudes and overt Behaviour involving radical prejudice." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 47:649-652.

Lammers,C.J. (1967),"Power and Participation in decision-making in formal Organization."American Journal of Sociology 72:No.2 Sept.

Landecker,W.S.(1963),"Class crystallization and Class consciousness." American Sociological Review,Vol,28,pp. 219-229.

Lange,N. (1888), Beitrage zur Theorie der sinnlichen Aufmerksamkeit und der activen Apperception. Phil.Stud.,4:390-422

Lapiere,R.T. (1934),"Atitudes vs Actions."Social Forces 13:230-237.

Last, M.(1967), The Sokoto Caliphate.London:Longmans.

Law, R.C.C.(1977),The Oyo Empire,1600-1836.Oxford:University Press.

Legget, J.C.(1963a),"Uprootedness and Working Class Consciousness." American Journal of Sociology,Vol.68,pp.682-692

Legget, J.C.(1963b),"Working Class Consciousness,Race and Political Choice."American Journal of Sociology, Vol.69,pp.171-176.

Legget, J.C.(1964), "Economic Insecurity and Working Class Consciousness."American Sociological Review, Vol.29,pp.226-235.

Legget, J.C.(1968), "Class,Race and Labour:Working Class Consciousness in Detroit.New York:Oxford University Press.

Leis,P.E. (1983), Enculturation and Socialization in an Ijaw village. New York:Holt,Rinehart and

Winston,Inc.

Leith-Ross,S.(1965), "The rise of a New Elite among the Women of Nigeria." in van den Berghe,P.(ed.),Social problems of Change and Conflict.San Francisco:Chandler Publishing Co.

Leonard,D. (1977), Reaching the Peasant Farmer:Organization Theory and Practice in Kenya.Chicago: University Press.

Levitt,T.(1973) The Third Sector. New York:Amcom.

Lewin,K.(1938), The Conceptual Representation and Measurement of Psychological Forces.Durham North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Lieber,J.W.(1971), Efik and Ibibio villages.Human Ecology and Education Series:Vol.2 South East State. Ibadan:University Press.

Likert,R. (1961), New Patterns of Management.New York: McGraw Hill.

Little,K.(1957), "The Role of Voluntary associations in West African Urbanization."American Anthropologist, 59,pp.579-96

Lloyd,P.C.(1953), "Craft Organizations in Yoruba towns."Africa, 33,1,pp.30-44.

Lloyd,P.C.(1962) Yoruba Land Law.Oxford University Press for the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Lloyd, P.C.(1966),"Introduction,and Class consciousness among the Yoruba," in Lloyd, P.C.(ed.),The New Elites of Tropical Africa.Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.

Lloyd,P.C.(1972), Africa in Social Change.London: Penguins Books.

Lloyd,P.C.(1974), Power and Independence:Urban Africans' Perceptions of Social Inequality.London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lloyd,P.C.(1975), "Perceptions of Class and Social Inequality among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria."in Safa, H.I and du Toit,B.M.(eds.),Migration and Development:Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict.Paris:Mouton.

Locke,E.A.,Shaw,K.N.,Sari,L.M. and Latham,G.P.(1981),"Goal Setting and Task Performance,1969-1980,"Psychological Bulletin,90,pp.125-132

Lockwood,D.(1981),"The Weakest link in the Chain:Some comments on the Marxist Theory of Action."pp.435-481 in Simpson, R.L. and Simpson,I.H.(eds.),Research on the Sociology of Work,Vol.1.Greenwich,Conn.: JAI Press.

Lubeck,P.(1975), "Unions,Workers and Consciousness in Kano, Nigeria:a view from below."in Sandbrook, R. and Cohen,R.(eds.),The Development of African Working Class.London:Longmans.

Lubeck, P (1981),"Class Formation at the Periphery."pp.36-70 in Simpson, R.L. and Simpson,I.H.(eds.),Resaerch in the Sociology of Work, Vol.1.Greeenwich, Conn.:JAI Press Inc.

Luke, D.F.(1984), " The Political Economy of an African Public enterprise:A logitudinal case study of the administrative and the economic operations of Sierra-Leone Port Organization."Public Administration and Development,Vol.4, pp.171-186.

Luke, D.F.(1986), "Trends in Development Administration:the continuing challenge to the efficacy of the post-colonial state in the Third World." Public Administration and Development,Vol.6, No.1, pp.73-85.

Mabogunje,A.L.(1968), Urbanization in Press.

Machel,S.(1975), "Women's Liberation is essential for the Revolution."The African Communist,No.61.

Mamdan,M. (1976), Politics and Class formation in Uganda. New York:Monthly Review Press.

Manis, E. and Meltzer,B.N.(1963),"Some correlates of Class consciousness among textile workers."American Journal of Sociology,Vol. 69,pp.177-185.

March,J.G. and Simon,H.A. (1958), Organizations.New York:Wiley .

Marret,C.B.(1971), "On the Specification of Inter-organizational Dimensions."Sociology and Social Research,56(1) pp.83-99.

Marris,P. (1961), Family and Social Change in an African city:A study of rehousing in Lagos.London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Maslow,A. (1954), Motivation and Personality.New York:Harper and Row.

Maslow,A. (1965) Eupsychian Management.Homewood(Illinois): Irwin and Dorsey Press.

Mbanefo,A.C.(1983), Improving Job Performance through Goal Setting and Supevision:A note on Personality Dimensions. Paper presented at the First National conference of the Association of Nigerian Industrial Psychologist, May 18-20. University of Lagos.

McGregor,D. (1960), The human side of the Enterprise. New York:McGraw Hill.

McHenry, D.E.(1984), "The government versus management controversy: ascribing responsibility for the failure of a public corporation in Nigeria."Public Administration and Development,Vol.4, pp.259-274

Meek,C.K. (1946), Land Law and Customs in the colonies.Oxford: Oxford:University Press.

Meillassoux, C.(1964),Anthropologie Economique des Gouro de Cote d'Ivoire.Paris:Mouton.

Merton,R.K. (1943), "Bureaucratic structure and Personality."Pp 361-371 in Merton et al.,(eds.) Reader in Bureaucracy. Glencoe Illinois:The Free Press

Meyer,M.W. (1972b), "Size and Structure of Organizations: A causal Analysis." American Sociological Review. 37:434-440.

Meyer,M.W. (1979), Change in Public Bureaucracies.Cambridge: University Press.

Michels,R. (1949), Political Parties.New York:The Free Press.

Miner, H.(1965), "Change under Pressure:A Hausa case study." in van den Berghe, P.(ed.),Social problems of Change and Conflict.San Francisco:Chandler Publishing Company.

Mitchell,N.C.(1961), "Yoruba Towns." in Barbour, K.M. and Prothero, R.M.(eds.),Essays on African Population. London:Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mitchell, J.C.(1969), Soical Networks in Urban Situations. Manchester:University Press.

Morris,R.T. and Murphy,R.J.(1969),"A paradigm for the study of Class Consciousness."pp.345-359 in Roach,J.L. et.al.,(eds.),Social Stratification in the United States.New Jersey:Prentice Hall.

Mpanugo,I.and Nwaocha,C. (1983),Reflections on Practical Management in Nigeria.Enugu:Nigerian Institute of Management.

Mumford,E. (1972), Job Satisfaction. London:Longmans.

Munsterberg,H.(1889),Beitrage zur Experimentellen Psychologie.Vol.1 Freiburg:Morh.

Murray, D.J.(1983), "The World Bank's Perspective on how to improve Administration.Public Administration and Development,Vol.3,pp.291-297.

Murray, M.A.(1975),"Comparing Public and Private Management:An Exploratory Essay."Public Administration Review,Vol.35,No.4,pp.364-371,July/August.

Nadel,S.F.(1972), A Black Byzantium,the Kingdom of the Nupe in Nigeria. London: Longmans.

Ngu, S.M.(1985), Administrative probity and public Aacccountability:an analytical study of administrative corruption,maladministration and institutional arrangements for administrative control in Kaduna State,Nigeria,Up to 1983.Unpublished Ph.D Thesis,University of Liverpool.

Nicolson,I.F.(1977), The Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960. Oxford: University Press.

Niven,C.R.(1955), A Short History of Nigeria.London:Longmans

Nwankwo,G.(1986), "Us and Them Syndrome."The Nigerian Guardian, August 11.

Nzimiro,I.(1965), "A study of the mobility among the Ibos of Southern Nigeria."International Journal of Comparative Sociology 6:117-130.

Obayemi,A.(1973), Anthropologists and History Writing in Nigeria.A mimeograph,cited by Isiche,E.(1983) History of Nigeria.London:Longmans.

Obayemi,A.(1976), "The Yoruba and Edo speaking Peoples and their Neighbours." in Ajayi,J.F.A and Crowder,M.(eds.) History of West Africa.London:Longmans.

Oberst, R.(1986), "Administrative Conflict and Decentralization: The case of Sri-Lanka."Public Administration and Development,Vol.6,pp.163-174.

Ocho,L.O. (1982), "Factors that affect Workers Attitude to Work:The Cultural Environmental Imponderables in the Nigerian situation."in Ejiofor,P.N.O. (ed.) Managing the Nigerian Worker.London: Longmans Group Ltd.

Ofeimum,O. (1986) "Some comments on ethnic group affiliation." The Nigerian Guardian, October 3.

Odufalu,A.(1971)," Indigenous Enterprise in Nigerian Manufacturing."Journal of Modern African Studies, 9,,4,pp.593-607.

Ofodile,E.P.(1947),"Growth and Influence of Tribal Unions." West African Review,Vol.XVIII,No.239.

Ogundijo, M.I.(1970),Indigenous Education in Ejigbo District of Oshun Division in the pre-colonial days and the coming of the Missionaries.Unpublished B.A.,Thesis,Faculty of Education,University of Ife,Nigeria.

Okafor-Omali,D. (1965), A Nigerian Villager in two Worlds.London: Faber and Faber.

Okonjo, K.(1983), "Sex Roles in Nigerian Politics." pp.211-234 in Oppong,C.(ed.),Female and Male in West Africa. London:Allen and Unwin.

Okpaku,J. (1972), Nigeria:Dilemma of Nationhood.New York: The Third Press.

Ola,O. (1976), "Comments on Gowon Administration." Sunday Times April 11.

Omogbehin,V. A.(1985),Nigerian Clerical Workers.Unpublished Ph.D Thesis,University of Birmingham.

Onimode,B.(1980), "Imperialism and Multinational Corporations:A case study of Nigeria."pp.145-170 in Aguibou,Y.(ed.),Decolonization and Dependency. Problems of Development of African Societies. London:Greenwood Press.

Onimode,B. (1981), "Planning for Development in Nigeria." in Nnoli,O. (ed.) Path to Nigerian Development. Senegal: Codesria Books Series.

Onimode,B. (1982), Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty. London:Zed Press.

Onokerhoraye,A.(1984),Social Services in Nigeria.An Introduction. London: Kegan Paul International.

Onoge,O. 1974), "The crisis of consciousness in modern African literature."Canadian Journal of African Studies 8:35-56.

Onwubu, C.(1975), "Ethnic Identity, Political Integration and National Development:The Igbo Diaspora in Nigeria."Journal of Modern African Studies, 13,3,pp.399-443.

Osborne,O.H.(1973), "Census Reliability in Anthropological Field Work"in O'Barr,W.M.(ed.),Survey Research in Africa.Evanston Ill.:Northwestern University

Press.

Ostrom,T.M. (1968),"The emergence of Attitude Theory:1930-1950." in Greenwald,A.G.,Brock,T.C. and Ostrom,T.M. (eds.) Psychological Foundations of Attitudes. New York: Academic Press.

Otite, O.(1979), "Rural migrants as Catalysts in rural development:The Urhobo in Ondo State,Nigeria,Africa, Vol.49,No.3,pp.226-234.

Otobo,D.(1981), "The Nigerian General Strike of 1981."ROAPE, No. 22,pp.65-81,Oct./Dec.

Otobo, D.(1986), "Bureaucratic Elite and Public Sector Wage Bargaining in Nigeria."Journal of Modern African Studies, 24,1.

Ott,L.;Mendenhall,W.and Larson,R.F. (1981), Statistics: A tool for the Social Sciences.North Scituate, Massachussetts: Duxbury Press.

Ottenberg,S,(1962), "Ibo Receptivity to Change." pp.130-143 in Bascom,W. and Herskovits,M.J.(eds.),Continuity and Change in African Cultures.Chicago: University Press.

Ottenberg,P.V.(1962),"The Changing Economic position of Women among the Afikpo Ibo pp.205-223 in Bascom,W. and Herskovits, M.(eds.),Continuity and Change in African Cultures.Chicago:University Press

Ottenberg,S.(1971), Leadership and Authority in African Society. The Afikpo Village Group.London.

Ottenberg,S. and Ottenberg,P.(1961), Cultures and Societies of Africa. New York:Random House.

Ouchi,W. (1981), Theory Z:How American Business can meet the Japanese Challenge.Reading Mass.: Addison Wesley Publishing Co.

Ouchi,W. and Price,R.L. (1978), "Hierarchies,Clans and Theory Z:A new perspective in Organization and Development. "Organization Dynamics 7(2):62-69.

Oyovbaire, S.E.(1980),"Politicization of the higher civil service in the Nigerian system of Government," Quarterly Journal of Administration,8,XIV, No.3.(April),pp.267-283.

Paden, J.(1974), Religion and Political Culture in Kano.Berkeley: University of California Press.

Palmer-Jones,R.W.(1980),"Why irrigate in the North of Nigeria,?" Paper presented at the seminar on change in Rural Hausaland, Bagauda Lake. February 29-March 1.

Parker,S.R.(1971), The future of Work and Leisure.London:Paladin.

Peel,J.D.Y.(1983), Ijeshas and Nigerians:The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s-1970s.London:Cambridge University Press.

Peace,A.(1974), "The Lagos Proletariat as a Political Elite," cited by Waterman, P.(1982),"The labour Aristocracy in Africa:Introduction to an Unfinished Controversy." in Cohen,D.L. and

Daniel,J.(eds.), Political Economy of Africa. London:Longmans.

Peace,A.(1975), "The Lagos proletariat:Labour aristocrats or populist Militants?" in Sandbrook,R and Cohen,R (eds.),The Development of African Working Class. London:Longmans.

Peace,A.(1979), Choice,Class and Conflict:A Study of Southern Nigerian Factory Workers.Brighton Sussex: Harvester Press.

Peil, M.(1972), The Ghanaian Factory Worker.London:Cambridge University Press.

Peil, M.(1981), Cities and Surburbs:Urban Life in West Africa. London:African Publishing Company.

Piore, M.J.(1980), Birds of Passage.Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies.London:Cambridge University Press.

Pittin,R.(1984), "Gender and Class in Nigerian Industrial Setting."ROAPE,No.31.Dec.

Plotnicov,L.(1984), "An Early Nigerian Civil Disturbance:The 1945 Hausa-Ibo Riot in Jos,"(Africa) Journal of Modern African Studies,Vol.9,No.2,pp.297-304.

Porter,L.W. and Lawler,E.E. (1968), Managerial Attitudes and Performance. Homewood Illinois: Dorsey Irwin.

Prothero,R.M. and Barbour,K.M.(1961), Essays on African Population. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pugh,D.S.,Hickson,D.J.,Hinnings,C.R. and Turner,C.(1968), Dimensions of Organizational Structure."

Administrative Science Quaterly 13(1):65-105.

Pugh,D.S.,Hickson,D.J.,Hinnings,C.R. and Turner,C. (1969a), "The context of Organizational Structures." Administrative Science Quaterly 14(1):91-114.

Rempel,H.(1978), Rural-urban Labour migration and Urban Unemployment in Kenya.Laxenburg Austria:International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.

Richardson,S.A.(1956),"Organizational Contrasts In British and American Ships. Administrative Science Quaterly 1 (2):189-207.

Rodney,W.(1972), How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.Dar es salam: Tanzanian Publishing House.

Roethlisberger,F.J. and Dickson,W.J.(1939),Management and the Worker.Cambridge Mass.:Harvard University Press.

Rokeach, M.(1968), Beliefs, Atitudes and Values.San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rokeach,M.(1976), Beliefs, Attitudes and Values. A Theory of Organization and Change. London:Jossey-Bass.

Rondinelli,D.A.(1983),"Implementing Decentralization programmes in Asia.A comparative analysis. Public Administration and Development,3,pp.181-207.

Rose, M.(1975), Industrial Behaviour :Theoretical Developments since Taylor.Harmondsworth:Penguin Books.

Rose, M.(1979), Servants of Post-Industrial Power ? Sociologie

du Travail in Modern France.London:Macmillan.

Rose, M.(1984), "Universalism, Culturalism and the Aix Group: Promise and Problems of a Societal Approach to Economic Institutions." A mimeograph.

Rosenberg, M.(1960),"An analysis of Cognitive Balance." in Hovland, C.I. and Rosenberg, M.J.(eds.),Attitudes Organization and Change.New Haven:Yale University Press

-

Ross, M.(1975), Grassroots in an African City:Political Behaviour in Nairobi. Cambridge Mass.:MIT Press

Sanda, A.(1986), "Systematic Planning in the Public Sector."The Nigerian Guardian, August 7.

Sayles,L.R.(1958),Behaviour of Industrial Work Groups.New York: Wiley and Sons.

Schaffer,B.B.(1969),"Deadlock in Development Administration." in Leys,C.(ed.),Politics and Change in Developing Countries.Cambridge:University Press.

Schaffer,B.B.(1974),(ed.),Administrative Training and Development. New York:Praeger Publishers.

Schaffer,B.B.(1982b),"Review of administrative reforms for Decentralized Development," Saxena,A.P.(ed.), in Public Administration and Development, Vol.2,No. 4.

Schatz,S.P. and Edokpayi,S.I.(1962),"Economic Attitudes of Nigerian Businessmen." Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies.No.3.Novemeber.

Scheibe, K.E.(1970),Beliefs and Values. New York:Holt.

Schildkrout,E.(1978a),"Age and Gender in Hausa Society:Socio-economic roles of children in urban Kano." in Lafontaine, J.S.(ed.),Sex and Age as principals of Social Differentiation.New York:Academic Press.

Schildkrout, E.(1981),"The employment of childrren in Kano, Nigeria." in Rodgers, G. and Standing,G.(eds.) Participation or Exploitation.The Economic Roles of Children in Low Income Countries.Geneva:ILO.

Schildkrout, E.(1983),"Dependence and Autonomy:the Economic activities of secluded Hausa Women in Kano." pp.107-126 in Oppong,C.(ed.),Female and Male in West Africa. London:Allen and Unwin.

Schwerdtfeger,F.W.(1982),Traditional Housing in African Cities.A Comparative study of Hausas in Zaria,Ibadan and Marrakech.New York:Wiley and Sons.

Scott, W.H., Mumford,E.,McGiving,I.G.and Kirby,J.M.(1956),Technical Change and Industrial Relations.Liverpool: University Press.

Scott,W.H.,Mumford,E.,McGiving,I.G., and Kirby,J.M.(1963),Coal and Conflict. Liverpool:University Press.

Seeman, M.(1959), "On the meaning of Alienation."American Sociological Review,24:783-791.

Selznick,P.(1952),"An approach to the study of Bureaucracy." American Sociological Review,8,pp.47-57.

Selznick,P.(1948), "Foundation of the Theory of Organization." American Sociological Review,No.11.

Shenton,R.(1986), The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria.London:James Currey.

Shenton,S.R. and Watts,M.(1979), "Capitalism and Hunger in Northern Nigeria."ROAPE,No.15/16,pp.53-62. Sherif,C.,

Sherif,M.and Nebergall,R.(1965),Attitude and Attitude Change.Philadelphia:Saunders.

Shils, E.A.(1951),"The study of Primary Groups." in Learner,D.and Lasswell,H.D.(eds.),The Policy Sciences. Stanford California:Stanford University Press.

Siegal,A.E. and Siegal,S.(1975),"Reference Groups,Membership Groups and Attitude Change."Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,73:111-124.

Silverman,D.(1970),The Theory of Organizations.London:Heinemann.

Sivanandan,A(1980),"Imperialism in the Silicon Age."Monthly Review, Vol.32.No.31.

Skinner,E.P.(1974),African Urban Life:The transformation of Ouaga-dougou.Princeton NJ.:Princeton University Press.

Sklar,R (1963) Nigerian Political Parties. Princeton:University Press.

Smith, B.C.(1976), The substance and Boundaries of development Administration." A paper presented at the 1976 (PAC) conference:University of York.

Smith,B.C.(1986), "Spatial Ambiguities:Decentralization within the State."Public Administration and Development, Vol.6,pp.455-465.

Smith, H.A.(1949), Administrative Behaviour.New York:Macmillan

Smith,M.B.(1963),"Personal Values in the study of Lives." in White, R.W.(ed.),The study of Lives.New York: Arthen Press.

Smith,M.G.(1960), Government in Zazau.London:Oxford University Press.

Smith,M.G.(1961) "Exchange and Marketing among the Hausa in Dalton,G. and Bohannan,P (eds.),Markets in Africa.Evanston Ill.:Northwestern University Press

Soyinka,W.(1984), An interview with West Africa Magazine,August 27

Spencer, H.(1895), First Principles.(Preface dated 1862) new York: Appleton.

Sudarkasa,N.(1973),Where women Work:A study of Yoruba women in the Marketplace and in the Home.Museum of Anthropology,No.53 Ann Arbor:Michigan University.

Talbot, P.A.(1967), Tribes of the Niger Delta.London:Frank Cass.

Tannenbaum,A.(1966),A Social Psychology of Work Organization. London:Tavistock.

Taylor,F.W.(1947), The Principles of Scientific Management. New York:Harper and Row.

Teriba,O.(1978), "Accountability and Public Control of Public Corporations.The experience of Western Nigeria." pp.43-89 in Murray D.(ed.),Nigerian Administration.London:Hutchinson.

Thurstone,L.L.(1931),"The measurement of Social Attitudes."Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,26, pp.249-269.

Thurstone,L.L.(1946),"Comment,"American Journal of Sociology, 52,pp.39-40.

Todaro,M.(1976), Internal Migrations in Developing Countries:A Review of Theory,Evidence,Methodology and Research Priorities.Geneva:ILO

Tolman,E.E.(1932), Purposive Behaviour in Animals and Men. New York:Appleton Century.

Turner, H.A.(1966), Wage Trends,Wage Policies and Collective Bargaining:the Problems for Underdeveloped Countries.Cambridge:University Press

Turner,A. and Lawrence,P.I.(1966), Industrial Jobs and the Worker. Cambridge Mass.:Harvard University Press.

Turner,H.A.,Clack,G. and Roberts,G.(1967),Labour Relations in the Motor Industry.London: Allen and Unwin.

Turney,J.R.(1974), "Activity outcome Expectancies and Intrinsic Activity Values as predictors of several motivation indices for technical Professionals.Organizational Behaviour and Human Performance,11,p.65-82.

Uchendu,V.(1965), The Igbos of Southeast Nigeria.New York:Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Umoh J.U.(1986), "Redemption of the Nigerian Labour Congress." Daily Times,August 6.

van Onselen,C.(1976),Chibaro:African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia,1900-1933.London:Pluto Press.

Vidrovitch, C.C.(1978),"Research on African mode of Production."in Seddon,D.(ed.).Relations of Production. London:Longmans.

Vroom,V.(1964), Work and Motivation.New York: Wiley and Sons.

Walker,C.R. and Guest, R.H.(1952),The Man on the Assembly Line. Cambridge Mass.:Harvard University Press.

Wallace,C.C.(1978),"The concept of Gandu:How useful is it in understanding Labour Relations in rural Hausa Society." Savannah,Vol.7,No.2,pp.137-150.

Warren, G.B.(1973),"Organizational Development and the fate of Bureaucracy in Kramer,F.(ed.) Perspectives on Public Bureaucracy.Cambridge Mass.:Winthrop.

Waterman,P.(1978), "Consciousness,Organization and Action amongst Lagos Port Workers."ROAPE,No.13,pp.47-62.May.

Watson,G.(1945), "Bureaucracy as Citizens see it." Journal of Social Issues,1(4).

Watson,T.J.(1980), Sociology,Work and Industry. London:Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Weber,M.(1966), "Class,Status and Party." pp.21-28 in Bendix,R . Lipset,S.M.(eds.),Class,Status and Power. New York:Free Press.

Weber,M.(1947), The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations. Translated by Henderson,A.M.and Parsons,T. Glencoe,Ill.:The Free Press.

Weber,M.(1968), Economy and Society. Translated and edited by Roth,G. and Claus,W.New York:Bedminster Press.

Wells,F.A. and Warmington,W.A.(1962),Studies in Industrialization: Nigeria and the Camerouns.Ibadan:University Press.

Whitaker, S.(1970), The Politics of Tradition,Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria,1946-1966.Princeton University Press.

Williams,G.(1970), "The social stratification of a neo-colonial economy."in Allen,C.H. and Johnson,R.W.(eds.) African Perspectives:Essays in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa in honour of Thomas Hodgkin.Cambridge:University Press.

Williams,G.(1974), "Political consciousness among the Ibadan poor." in de Kadt,E. and Williams,G.(eds.), Sociology and Development.London: Tavistock.

Williams, G.(1976) Nigeria:Economy and Society.London:Rex Collins.

Williams,G. (1977), "Class relations in a neo-colony:the case of Nigeria." in Gutkind,P.C. and Waterman,P.(eds) African Social Studies: a Radical Reader. London:Heinemann.

Williams,G.(1978), "Editorial." ROAPE, No. 13

Williams G. and Turner,T.(1978),"Nigeria."pp.132-172 in Dunn,J.(ed) West African States:Failure and Promise. Cambridge:University Press.

Williams, R.M.(1968),"Values."in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.New York.Macmillan.

Woodward,J.(1958), Management and Technology.London:HMSO.

Wright, E.O.(1978), Class, Crisis and the State. London:NLB.

Yesufu,O.(1958), "The obligations to Tribal Unions."Daily Times, April,14,1958 cited by Sklar,R.L.(1963) Nigerian Political Parties:Power in an Emergent Nation.New Jersey:Princeton University Press.

Yusuf,A. B.(1975), "Capital Formation and Management among the Muslim Hausa Traders of Kano, Nigeria." Africa,45,pp.165-182.

Zafarullah,H.M. and Khan,M.M.(1983),"Staffing the higher Civil Services in Bangladesh:an analysis of recruitment and selection processes.Public Administration and Development, Vol.,3, pp.121-133.

Zeitlin,M.(1966), "Economic Insecurity and the Political Attitudes of Cuban Workers." American Sociological Review,Vol.31,pp.35-51.